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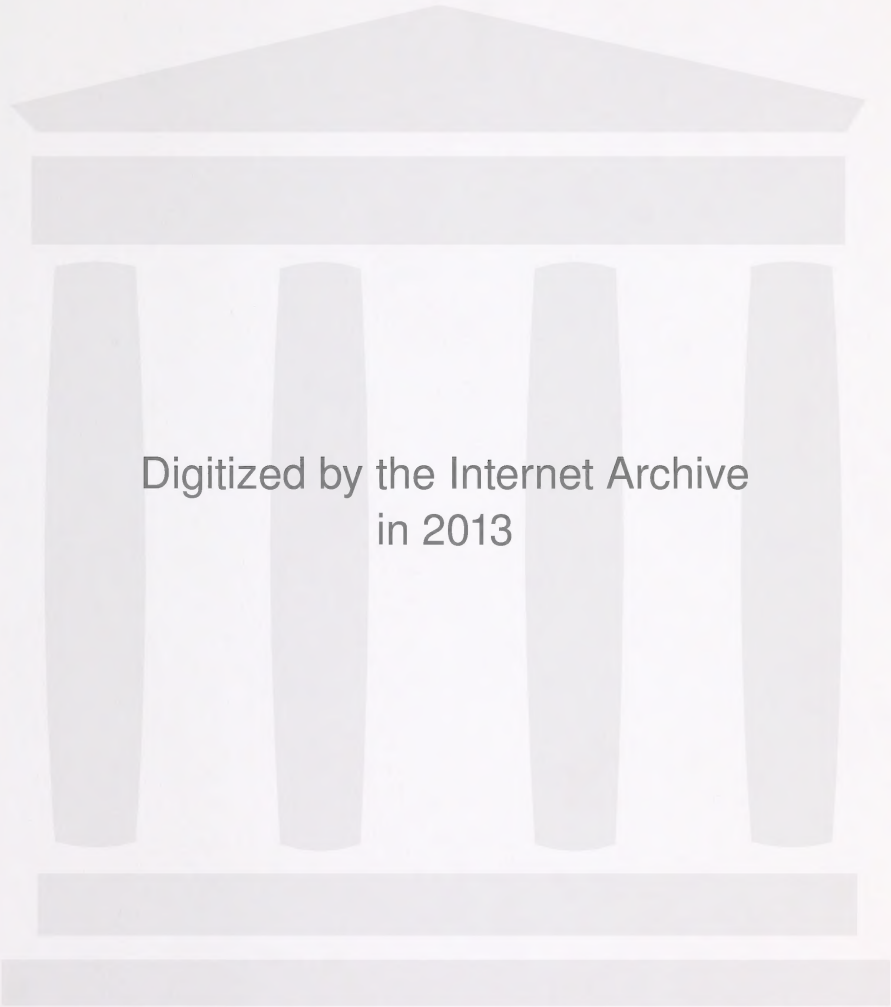
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THE

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

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J. W. MENDENHALL, D.D., LL.D., EDITOR.

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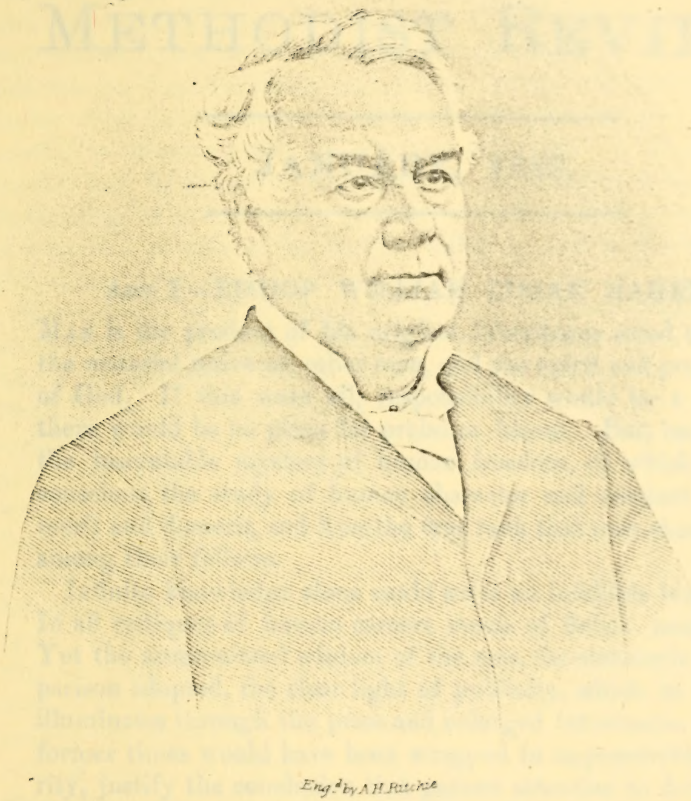

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William L. Harris

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1888.

ART. I.—BISHOP WILLIAM LOGAN HARRIS.

MAN is the product of his original inheritance acted upon by the material universe, other men, and the spirit and providence of God. If this were all, responsibility would be a fiction; there would be no place for praise or blame. But, because of the inscrutable mystery of human freedom, of which all are conscious, the study of human character and conduct reveals merit and demerit, and fixes the true rank that men should hold among their fellows.

Infinite knowledge alone could write an infallible biography. In all critiques of human careers much of fiction must exist. Yet the accumulated wisdom of the race, the standards of comparison adopted, the clear light of publicity, which in this age illuminates through the press and enlarged intercourse what in former times would have been wrapped in impenetrable obscurity, justify the conclusion that patient attention to details and the intelligent use of every facility afforded will give better approximate results in the estimation of character than it was possible, except in a few cases, to attain in past ages.

Especially is this true in such an association as the Methodist Episcopal Church, an organization which interlinks its ministers more closely than any other ecclesiastical fabric ever constructed except Roman Catholicism, and differs from that especially in the greater degree of publicity which attends its proceedings. Where Rome works in secret, by forces oftentimes as relentless and resistless as fate, Methodism debates in public and examines the character of its ministers in the

glare of day. That it is possible to tell "from books," as Daniel did certain things, where every regular minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church was in any year of his whole ministry during the hundred years and more covered by its records; to ascertain in a few moments when he was received, and where; when he was ordained, and by whom; with what stations he was intrusted, and when, where, and generally under what circumstances he died; whether his position was exalted or obscure; and that the successive steps of his promotion can be traced as accurately as the records of nature in the rings of a tree or the growth of geological formations, is without a parallel in the archives either of civil or of ecclesiastical establishments.

The parents of William L. Harris were farmers, belonging to that sturdy yeomanry which laid the foundations of the States of the central West. They possessed enterprise; for, lured by the promise of great results to industry, frugality, and sagacity, in a time before railroads were introduced, when towns and even villages were few and far between, they went to what was then the far West. Ohio, it is true, was early settled, and from the beginning by a class of persons who carried with them settled habits, and therefore formed communities far above the camping-places of hunters and explorers of the Daniel Boone type. It was not their purpose to move on as soon as civilization overtook them, but to carry civilization with them, and as soon as possible improve their homes and surround them with schools and churches.

It is almost superfluous to say that settlers in the West in those days possessed unusual physical vigor; for if a few, deceived as to the hardships they had to encounter, began the journey without the endurance necessary to succeed, they seldom had the strength or perseverance to complete it. The life also, though full of exposure, tended to conserve and strengthen the original constitution. The world recognizes the fact that none of the colonies of ancient or modern times were founded by a hardier and more enduring set of men than those who, not content to remain in the still partly undeveloped States of the East, pushed forth, unaffrighted by the war-whoop of the Indian, the howl of the wolf, the growl of the bear, or the malarious effluvia of undrained swamps or sluggish rivers, to

find a dwelling-place amid the living, the decaying, and the dead vegetation of centuries.

It was also a period in which what was known was thought out and more vigorously grasped than at the present time—when masses of thought, launched by the press and intellectually swallowed without mastication, are daily passing through, rather than incorporating themselves with, the mind. Abundant evidence shows that the farmers, mechanics, and average citizens of every type had but few ideas, but conceived those clearly and held them tenaciously. The school-books, readers, and the few works possessed by religiously-inclined families, still to be found in the garrets of those who inherit the relics of a preceding generation, as well as the speeches of political and other orators, and the few histories of those times prepared by contemporary writers, illustrate the difference between the past and the present in these particulars.

From such an ancestry, physically, mentally, and morally, William L. Harris received the best inheritance—a sound mind in a sound body, and traditions of homely virtues and self-reliance. Religiously, his parents were Presbyterians, and this meant a great deal for him. Presbyterianism, in the early days of this republic, was intensely doctrinal, necessarily systematic, practical, immovable, reverent, conscientious, and so clearly defined as to stand out before the eyes of its votaries and of the public with great distinctness as a theological system. Its ministers were reasoners rather than orators, proving, defining, and illustrating, not from natural science nor to any great extent from social life, but from the word of God. Presbyterians always made much of the holy Scriptures, and inculcated the importance of committing its words to memory. From Scotland it derived most of its accessions, though England and the north of Ireland furnished many of its strongest men.

Fortunately for their children, Mr. and Mrs. Harris had fallen under the influence of George Whitefield and of those ministers who affiliated with him, and the predestinarian view was suffused with emotion, and to a great extent lost its hardness; and the family, not content with believing themselves of the number of the elect and leaving the universe to its fate under the influence of the impenetrable will of its sovereign God,

cherished the deepest interest in the conversion of those whom Providence had committed to their care.

At the age of fourteen years a tinge of sadness was thrown over the mind and heart of William L. Harris by the death of his father. He was old enough to feel to some extent the pathos of the word "fatherless," yet not sufficiently advanced to develop that self-reliance and insensibility which dispose of such an event simply as one of the inevitable occurrences of life. In that primitive day, the death of the husband before the lands he had taken were fully improved, even if entirely paid for, rarely the case, left the widow with a serious burden. It is an error, however, to say that the parents of William L. Harris were poor, or that the family was broken up. Since his demise some eloquent discourses have been rendered pathetic by descriptions of the sufferings of the youth because of the poverty of his widowed mother, one speaker having gone so far as to represent them as driven from home under the inexorable sentence of a sheriff's sale. The widow continued to reside upon the farm for many years, and assisted her son in procuring his education; and when the property was finally disposed of he received as his patrimony what for those times was quite a large sum. On one occasion he brought home from the executors a thousand silver dollars, the weight of which—as he pleasantly remarked—"was enough, as was generally the case with riches, to be a millstone around his neck."

Fortunately, however, he was obliged to earn his own living. His uncle, practically his guardian, did not believe that it was wise for him to seek an education, but wished him to continue to work upon the farm; and was not willing to give him any portion of the estate to assist in his studies. But his mother always sympathized with him, and to her interest and his own exertions he owed his rapid progress as well as his early entrance upon educational work.

It was on the 14th of November, 1817, near Mansfield, O., that he of whom I write was born; only fourteen years after the State had been admitted into the Union, and less than thirty years after the first permanent settlement was made at Marietta. At the time of his birth the population of Cleveland was less than three hundred; Cincinnati, less than seven thousand; Dayton had hardly the dignity of a village; and Co-

lumbus, though it had been the capital for five years, had less than a thousand.

Those were the days of the simplicity, power, and corresponding usefulness of camp-meetings. They had no expensive houses, or even comfortable cottages; there were no auditoriums, trained choirs, or instruments of music; but simply the tents of Israel under the palm-trees and the cedars of Lebanon. The preachers and the people sought power with God and men. They preached to convict sinners; to convert them from the error of their ways; to instruct penitents, and lead men out of darkness into the light. Multitudes came from curiosity, or to be pleasurably affected by the novel sight, but of these many "remained to pray." Such scenes made powerful impressions upon youth. "The groves were God's first temples," and early Methodism found that on such occasions the Lord would frequently "suddenly come to his temple." Vast audiences felt his Presence. Cries for mercy and even agonizing shrieks arose, "commingling on the holy air" with the triumphant shouts of those who had passed from death unto life, or of saints who had received such a blessing that there was not room to contain it. The moral force of many of these meetings was so great that it could not have been intensified had one risen from the dead. A hundred miracles of healing, and of speaking with divers tongues, or of withering fig-trees, or of stilling the tempestuous waves of the sea, would not have produced a deeper sense of the reality of religion, the nearness of death, or of the irreversible doom to be pronounced at the day of judgment, than did the spectacle of a minister absorbed in his awful theme, surrounded by scores of others engaged in prayer for the descent, in saving power, of the Holy Spirit, and an assembly of hundreds or thousands fused into one spirit and one voice, while men and women, drawn by apparently resistless influences as into a whirlpool, rushed toward the altar and prostrated themselves upon the ground crying, "What shall we do to be saved?"

Among those who were awakened on such an occasion was a lad, not seventeen years old, who found the new life June 10, 1834. The name of the minister who preached the sermon on that day we do not know, nor does it matter; for under such circumstances the minister is but a trumpet; the

entire assembly preaches. What he might have been if this forest call had not summoned him to prayer none can tell; energy such as his would have found an outlet, even if compelled to wear its own channel. Whether he had in view the ministry from the beginning is a question which cannot be determined. It was not uncommon for boys of even fourteen years to be urged to give their experience, and a youth who had attained his full height at seventeen, with a manly voice, might readily have been selected as one from whom the Church could expect great things if it should "please the Lord to call him into the ministry," or, as it was commonly called, "out into the work." Be this as it may, he began at once to study, and for two years received instruction in ancient languages and mathematics at Norwalk, Ohio.

In 1836, not yet nineteen years old, he received a license to preach, and was employed by the presiding elder. It was a cause of regret to him in subsequent years that he entered upon the ministry so young, but he regarded the fact that he was under the special supervision of the presiding elder as a modifying influence of considerable value. He said, "What could a lad of my age have done without the guidance and sympathy of a superior?"

In 1837 he was received as a probationer into the Michigan Conference, which then comprised the whole State of Michigan and the northern part of the State of Ohio. His first appointment from the Conference was Dover Circuit, where he was junior preacher. In 1838 he was stationed as junior preacher at Wooster. In 1839 he was ordained Deacon and stationed at Mansfield, near his birthplace, with Adam Poe as his senior. On the 9th of August, 1840, he was married to the daughter of Jesse and Nancy Atwell, the maiden name of her mother being Rice. This event he always counted one of the most clearly providential of his life.

The North Ohio Conference was formed in the year 1840, and he was among the members of the Michigan Conference of which it was composed. He was stationed at Belleville. In 1841 he was made the first preacher at Amity, the Conference meeting at Wooster, where three years before he had been stationed. In this year he was ordained Elder. His success being marked, he was returned for a second year. In

1843 his appointment was in Chesterville. In 1842 the city of Delaware, O., had purchased "the property of a watering-place known as White Sulphur Springs," and offered $10,000 in money to the Methodists if they would there establish an institution of learning of the grade of a college. The offer was accepted. On the 13th of November, 1844, the Ohio Wesleyan University was opened, with Edward Thomson as president. In the beginning of the autumn of that year William L. Harris was stationed at Delaware.

In his early ministry his preaching was accompanied with great spiritual power. On all his circuits and stations there were revivals. On one four hundred were added to the Church, and these were mostly heads of families, some of whom remain till this day, occupying the most important places in the local societies to which they belong. His physical energy bore the toil without being conscious of it, and his systematic habits prevented any of the lambs of the flock from languishing from lack of pastoral care.

Professor W. G. Williams, who resided in Delaware during Mr. Harris's ministry as pastor of the church, informs me that he was "earnest and fervent, loud, though never boisterous; but often so eager in his utterances that in the bubbling overflow of words an impediment of speech would appear." Professor Williams observed that this impediment never entirely disappeared except when he prepared his matter and became more deliberate. The more nearly he approached extemporaneousness in his utterances the more liable it was to appear.

Professor Williams speaks of one commendable peculiarity which Bishop Harris had in that early day, and which never left him. This won the writer's admiration the first time he ever saw him, and is a trait that might well be imitated by every young minister, and by all, without regard to age, who desire to recommend the religion of Jesus Christ to the favorable consideration of intelligent persons. It is thus described by Professor Williams:

> He had one elocutionary excellence in a marked degree—there was no professional tone in his voice or mannerism in his bearing or gestures. However solemn the occasion or the theme, he spoke in a natural, manly, unaffected style, without cant or sanctimoniousness. Always dignified and serious in his bearing as a

minister, yet his style and delivery were such as might be used in any situation. I do not think it was different when he spoke in deliberative bodies, or that it would have been varied or thought amiss had he spoken in a civil court or on a rostrum. . . . He always spoke in a clear, resonant voice, and with very distinct articulation. The farthest person in his audience could hear every syllable that he uttered, so that it was easy and pleasant to follow him. His manner was more colloquial than oratorical. His audiences always listened, because he always had something to say to them.

During the period that he was connected with the University it was seldom that audiences were agitated by his sermons or speeches. In those days he seemed better fitted to instruct than to stir men. It was natural enough, therefore, that at the end of one year he should become tutor in the University. But underneath the teacher was the evangelist, and he longed for the heat and glow of revival services. At the end of the next year he resigned the position and returned to the pastorate, and was stationed at Toledo, then just founded. Toledo is well laid out, chiefly on high ground, and has for some years been considered one of the most healthful cities of the West. Even as long ago as 1860, before its drainage system was complete, its inhabitants boasted—and with truth—that the number of deaths averaged but little over two per cent. of the whole population. But when William L. Harris was stationed there it was one of the most fever-breeding places along the lakes. He was soon attacked by malaria, and though he was removed to Norwalk at the end of the year he was so enervated and depressed that he made up his mind he would be unable to endure the strain of the pastorate.

In 1848 he was appointed principal of Baldwin Institute, the germ of Baldwin University, where he continued until 1851. Being very successful, he was called back to Delaware to take the management of the preparatory academy. There, under the eyes of the president, faculty, and trustees, by his thoroughness, versatility, industry, and facility in teaching and kindling enthusiasm, he commanded such respect and confidence that he was elected to the chair of chemistry and natural history in the University in 1852, a position he held for eight years.

That I might not be misled, either by my own admiration for

the man or the enthusiastic words spoken by friends after his death, I wrote to Professor Williams, above mentioned, for a candid, unexaggerated statement of the qualities of Professor Harris as a student and teacher. He says:

> As a student Harris had a *genius* for hard work. He was avid of knowledge, and must have been a faithful and successful toiler in the field of general learning as well as special theological study. During the eight years of his ministry before he came to Delaware he had already acquired a fair working library, and knew how to use it. In the first year of my acquaintance with him we studied a good deal together, and during one year he came regularly to my room in the University at four o'clock in the morning to study Hebrew. The first year he was in the faculty as teacher in the preparatory department he found time to go over the entire mathematical course, and when a few years later he returned to us as professor of natural science he took up and rapidly mastered the wide range of studies in his own department. His fondness for books and hard study never left him. I think that when he was with us he was more disposed to bend over his books than over his pen; yet he wrote a good deal, and I suppose must have accumulated a large mass of sermons and lectures.

As a teacher, it is said that he particularly excelled in inducing students to think for themselves and perform original work. Certainly to do this is to reach the highest rank as a teacher. It was a complaint made against a certain very popular teacher by one of his most celebrated pupils that "he always entertained us delightfully, but now I cannot remember any thing that he said, and have no general knowledge of the subject." Such a criticism could never with truth be uttered against Professor Harris as a teacher. His proficiency in Hebrew became so great that he had classes therein in addition to the duties of his professorship; and some of the professors did not think it beneath them to pursue their studies in that language under his tuition.

Thus it appears that, though not an alumnus of any college, he made himself master of all that is taught in college, becoming tutor and professor. He had all the advantages of self-made men—self-reliance, a prodigious memory of his acquisitions, and an investigating spirit, with the conscious necessity for special attention to details; but he escaped in great measure their defects, which originate chiefly in their not associating with equals or superiors.

He was elected secretary of the North Ohio Conference in the year 1851, and performed its duties in such a manner as to win the respect and gratitude of the entire Conference. Men who had said that he was a born professor now declared that he was a born secretary. There is not so great a difference between the qualities required for these positions as might be supposed. Method, accuracy, attention, and promptitude are demanded by them in common, while animation, so necessary to make the recitation-room a scene of interest, can in a secretary prevent the necessary details of business from becoming dry as dust.

A comparison of dates reveals to the reader, familiar with the history of this country and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that the public career of William L. Harris began when slavery was the burning question in Church and State. The year that he was licensed to preach, in Cincinnati, not far from the spot where he was lifting up his youthful voice, the General Conference of 1836 writhed in the grasp of the monster, and by vote censured George Storrs and Samuel Norris for attending an abolition meeting. In 1844, the year that he was appointed to Delaware, the Church was divided, and Bishop Soule—whom he had regarded as the Nestor of Methodism—turned his back upon the place of his birth and the scenes of his life previous to his election to the episcopacy, and went with the South. Then followed the great suit for the division of the property between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which in the Supreme Court of the United States was indeed a battle of the giants; the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, being represented by Daniel Lord, Reverdy Johnson, and his son; the Methodist Episcopal Church by Rufus Choate, George Wood, and E. L. Fancher. In all of this Professor Harris was deeply interested. In 1848 and 1852 various phases of the subject were under discussion; upon all he had opinions and uttered them without reserve. He was a pronounced abolitionist before abolition became popular in State or Church, but can hardly be said to have been a leader in the movement. This probably arose from an absence of opportunity or occasion to manifest special interest, except as he mingled with the ministers of his Conference. He lived during all his public

life in small towns, particularly in Delaware, where the anti-slavery sentiment was prominent, if not dominant. There was not much need within his immediate sphere for propagandism of such views; there was very rarely any occasion for personal participation in the struggle; yet he both spoke and wrote on the subject, and, as his surviving friends of Delaware say, "It was understood that if ever a call should come for action he was ready to announce a more aggressive position."

The time came when he was first elected delegate to the General Conference, which sat in Indianapolis in 1856. As nearly the entire Conference to which he belonged was anti-slavery, there was no issue upon that point. His election was a triumph of personal popularity and a tribute to his extraordinary services as secretary, one of his friends saying: "A good secretary deserves one election; after that he has no claims on the Conference unless he proves himself a good representative." It was an astonishment to himself to find that he was at the head of the delegation of eight, with his distinguished and revered president, Dr. Edward Thomson, second. So great a shock was this to conventional ideas that a friend expostulated with Professor Harris somewhat as follows:

> You have committed an offense against propriety. The idea of your being first and Dr. Thomson second! You should resign at once, and declare that under no circumstances can you consent to occupy such a position.

But William L. Harris was at that time thirty-nine years old, and he responded:

> I did not desire to be first; I did not make myself first. It is the result of an election, and I do not see that I can do any thing about it further than to accept the responsibility put upon me.

Every person familiar with his work as secretary in the North Ohio Conference recognized his pre-eminent fitness for the secretaryship of General Conference; but in addition to that he was considered a representative antislavery candidate, in opposition to the reactionary tendency which had appeared in many sections of the Church. The whole number of votes cast upon that occasion was 206, making 104 necessary for a choice. Of these William L. Harris received 113.

He was elected to the General Conferences of 1860, '64, '68,

and '72, and in every instance at the head of his delegation; and by all these General Conferences he was elected secretary by acclamation. No deliberative body, in whatever sphere its powers were exercised, ever had a more capable and efficient secretary. In comprehension, attention, accuracy, voice, and manner he could scarcely have been excelled. So transcendent was his excellency that some have said that the Methodist Episcopal Church never had a secretary before him. If it be not necessary to say so much, the reading of the Journal prior to his time will convince any one of his great superiority to all who went before him. It is a gift to do such things well, and he possessed it in a high degree.

For twenty-four years he applied the same talents in the same general methods to the editing of the Discipline, making therein improvements fully as marked as those in the Journals, and even more useful; and after he was elected bishop it was the desire of the Church that he should continue to edit the Discipline. It is now, in the opinion of competent lawyers, the best distributed and most luminous statement of law, of the same or similar proportions, in the English language. Nearly every change made by Bishop Harris has possessed self-evident merit, and therefore elicited little or no criticism.

Shortly after the General Conference of 1856 it became obvious that a change in the rules on the subject of slave-holding by Church members, or a new chapter on the subject in the Discipline, or both, would be the next step in the legislative history of the Church upon this question. Professor William L. Harris was a pronounced advocate of the most vigorous measures, believing that there never could be permanent peace in the Church until all controversy on this subject should be rendered impossible by unequivocal utterances. He now came forward as a representative of that view, and for some years engaged in a vigorous controversy, in the various official papers and other proper places, with men most distinguished by abilities and official position in the Church. The question most debated was the powers of the General Conference. In preparing for its discussion Professor Harris compiled several large scrap-books, in which the papers bearing on the subject of slavery in the Church and the powers of the General Conference to legislate upon it, which for a long series of years

had appeared in the official papers, including reports of speeches delivered by eminent persons, were arranged in chronological order. When he entered the arena he was armed at all points, equipped with every thing except what was necessary for *retreat;* for such accouterments he seldom had need.

The substance of his arguments upon this subject was finally given to the public in a work entitled, *The Constitutional Powers of the General Conference, with a special application to the subject of Slave-holding.* In the introduction he says:

> When I wrote the articles, the substance of which is given in the following pages, it was not my expectation that they would have any thing more than a merely ephemeral newspaper existence. Soon after their publication I received letters from many ministers, some of whom occupy high positions in the Church, fully indorsing my doctrines, and calling for the argument in a more permanent form. The Delaware Annual Conference, of which I have the honor to be a member, at its session in 1858 *unanimously* adopted the following resolution, namely:
>
> "*Resolved*, That we fully indorse the views of Dr. Harris in his argument on the constitutional powers of the General Conference as published in the *Western Christian Advocate*, and that this Conference respectfully requests him to publish his articles in a more permanent form."
>
> The same Conference, at its session in 1859, with the same unanimity passed the following resolution, namely:
>
> "*Resolved*, That we again request Dr. Harris to publish his argument on the constitutional powers of the General Conference in a more permanent form."
>
> Not feeling at liberty longer to decline meeting the wishes of my own Conference, and of so many friends of the ministry in other Conferences, I have amplified the articles somewhat, for the purpose of noticing objections which have been made to my doctrines since they were first published; and, foregoing my own preferences and yielding to the solicitations of others, I now send them forth in this unpretending little volume, asking only that it be read and its arguments refuted before its doctrines be condemned.

That introduction excellently exhibits the frankness, simplicity, and directness of the style of Bishop Harris. In concluding his observations he says:

> If in the course of the argument I have advocated any erroneous opinions, the obvious remedy is to refute them. I am utterly

unconscious of having made use of a fallacy, or of having misconstrued or misapplied authorities, or of having substituted declamation for argument; but if any such defects exist it is easy to point them out.

The book is divided into six chapters: I. Powers Granted to a Delegated General Conference. II. Does the Constitution of the Church Forbid the General Conference to make a rule Prohibiting Slave-holding in the Church? III. Does the General Rule on Slavery Authorize Slave-holding? IV. General Rules and Terms of Membership. V. Recapitulation of the Argument and Authorities. VI. Perils of the Membership.

The subsequent action of the Church shows that a large majority of its members were convinced of the soundness of his position. In 1856 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Allegheny College, and he became familiarly known from that time as Dr. Harris. In 1860 he was elected Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society. The whole number of votes cast was 218, of which he had 141; thirty-one more than the number necessary to a choice. Between the senior secretary, Dr. Durbin, and the new assistant secretary there was a great contrast. Dr. Durbin was seventeen years the elder and, though small of stature and weak in voice, was unsurpassed as an orator, an admirable organizer and man of affairs; but his physical and mental force had culminated and was waning, though very slowly. He was already sixty years of age. The new secretary was of giant frame and of inexhaustible endurance. "He never knew what it was to be tired" till he was more than sixty-eight years old. His voice was powerful, and the more work he had to do the happier he seemed. Gradually all the work of the office drifted into his hands as his venerable senior approached and passed threescore and ten. In travel, in business sagacity, in details, in concise and lucid correspondence, in luminous arrangement of matters to be submitted to the board of managers, the General Missionary Committee, the Annual Conferences, and in the reports, he was a constant wonder—or, rather, his work ceased to be wonderful because it was constant.

Meanwhile he continued to discharge the functions of secretary of successive General Conferences, and exercised a powerful influence over legislation. In the General Conference of

1864 he voted against electing the presiding elders by ballot without debate in the Annual Conferences, on the nomination of the presiding bishop. In the same Conference he voted to extend the time of the pastoral term from two to three years; also for the change of the sections on class-meetings. He also proposed the amendment in the report of the Committee on the Centenary of Methodism so as to make it read:

The local funds shall be appropriated to the cause of Education and Church Extension under the direction of a committee consisting of an equal number of ministers and laymen appointed by the several Annual Conferences within whose bounds they are raised.

He made the principal motions affecting the plans for the organization of colored Conferences, after having made the preliminary motion to authorize the bishops to present such a paper as they thought would promote the interests of the cause.

In the General Conference of 1868 he took a most important part, practically controlling the action of the body on the great question of the admission of Mission Conferences:

General Conference 1868, *Proceedings of May* 11.

W. L. Harris did not propose to consume time by talking upon this question, but he did desire to have the motions, resolutions, amendments, etc., proposed put in such form that he could vote for the admission without declaring, either in form or substance, that the action of the last General Conference in imposing these restrictions was unconstitutional. He knew it was not in order to present resolutions or motions here, but he had some resolutions which he would read as a part of his speech:

"*Resolved*, 1. That all action of the General Conference of 1864 restricting, or purporting to restrict, the rights and privileges of the Annual Conferences which the bishops were authorized by the said General Conference to form within the United States and Territories be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

"*Resolved*, 2. That the following Conferences, namely, Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Holston, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and North Carolina, and Washington, are hereby declared to be Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and vested with all the rights, privileges, and immunities usual to Annual Conferences of said Church.

"*Resolved*, 3. That the provisional delegates elected by the aforesaid Conferences severally are hereby admitted to membership in this General Conference, entitled to exercise the same rights, powers, and privileges as delegates from other Annual

Conferences; *provided* always, that they shall be found otherwise qualified according to the law of the Church.

"*Resolved*, 4. That a committee of seven be appointed, to which shall be referred the credentials of the said provisional delegates, together with so much of the Journals of the said Conferences as relates to their election, and that the committee report thereon at the earliest practicable moment."

W. L. Harris then offered the resolution read by him this morning, and moved that upon these resolutions the Conference proceed to vote without debate, provided that this shall not preclude any substitutes, motions, or amendments relating to these, but that on these the question shall be taken without debate. . . .

The motion prevailed.

The question then recurred upon the resolution offered by W. L. Harris.

The resolutions were taken up *seriatim*, and adopted.

The third resolution, as adopted, is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the provisional delegates elected to this body by the aforesaid Conferences severally are hereby admitted to membership in this General Conference on the presentation of the requisite credentials."

He also took a very active part in the preparation of the plan by which lay representation was introduced.

In 1870, the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Baldwin University.

Such had been his career when, in 1872, eight bishops were elected. The first was the slender Thomas Bowman; the second, the massive William Logan Harris. Who but He who seeth the end from the beginning could have thought that the strong man would bow himself and go to his long home leaving his apparently fragile colleague still the senior bishop?

Immediately upon the organization of the new board he was by common consent elected secretary; a most important office, for by means of it the Church is apprised of the times of assembling of all the Conferences, and of many other facts necessary to its harmonious working, and also the rules, decisions, and, to a great extent, the traditions of the bishops are preserved, so as to unify the administration in successive years. It was soon obvious that he intended to apply to the duties of his episcopal functions what Bishop Foss in a memorial address appropriately described as "a three-man powe of work." From travel, exposure, and toil of every kind he never shrank. A telegram from a colleague indicating that he

was ill or weary received an almost immediate response, "I will hold your Conference."

In the May following his election he went around the world by the way of San Francisco, visiting successively Japan, China, India, Bulgaria, and western Europe. Leaving San Francisco on the 16th of June, by the 24th of September he had reached Kiukiang, having in the meantime spent a month in Japan organizing the mission there, and visited Shanghai and Peking. During his stay in China he also visited Foochow and other points, presiding at the Conferences. He spent about two months in India, traveling thoroughly; presiding at the Conference at Lucknow on January 7; making a detour on his own account to Palestine, and reaching Rome on the 1st of April. He then visited Turkey, and afterward held all the European Conferences, the entire journey occupying eighteen months. Again, in 1880 he made an extensive tour through Mexico, and in 1881 he spent three months in South America, and sailed thence to Europe, where he held our European Conferences, and reached home about nine months after he left. In the winter of 1884–85 he visited Mexico again, and had it not been contrary to the judgment of his colleagues he would have visited Liberia, and in that case, as in every other, would have brought home most valuable practical information.

Reflection upon the foregoing career, which could without repetition be expanded into a large volume, justifies the characterization of him that I have made elsewhere as a genius in ecclesiastical affairs. His characteristics were massive strength, physical and mental. There was an unusual combination of intellectual activity with a ponderous physical frame. A marked peculiarity of his mind was quickness and depth of penetration. His judgment of principles was sound, and his familiarity with precedents complete. These he valued highly, as reflecting light in the interpretation of the meaning of laws, but he was capable of independent reasoning upon principles; and some of the most important elements now in our ecclesiastical system or practice were first thought out or clearly stated by him. He was an advisory member of the committees of the General Conference on the revision of the jurisprudence of the Church, and, in fact, of most important committees and commissions for many years.

Methodist history he loved as young people love romances. In ascertaining disputed facts, collating different editions of the Discipline, Minutes, and Journals, examining manuscripts and ancient letters, he was as happy as a child among playthings. No question was ever raised as to what any thing meant which Bishop Harris said or wrote. In business meetings his resources were always at command; his energy in delivery on such occasions never failed; indeed, his short speeches every-where were models of crisp, clear statement.

As a bishop his most conspicuous qualities were those of a parliamentarian and an administrator. His judgment was sound, and though his natural abruptness of speech often gave the impression that he was incensed or irritated it was rarely the case, and when it did occur soon passed away. He was always very tenacious of his rights, and if he considered them invaded would protest, regardless of the dignity of the person involved. An illustration of this can be found in the proceedings of the General Conference in 1860, under date of May 10:

The secretary, Rev. W. L. Harris, rose to a question of privilege. The correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, in his letter of May 4, had referred to what he chose to term "a little scene," which occurred while he, the secretary, was reading the Journal on that morning. It was in reference to a remark between Bishop Ames and himself, and which the bishop had since said was only a pleasantry. Mr. Harris read the following extract from the letter referred to:

"During the reading of the Journal this morning by the secretary, Dr. Harris, a little 'scene' occurred. In reading the number of names appended to various antislavery petitions, by some singular coincidence the secretary very often gave them more signatures than they contained; and, in the case of those petitions which prayed for no change, in one or two instances he gave them fewer names than were actually on them. As members rose all over the house to correct these errors, the chair, Bishop Ames, remarked that *the secretary's mistakes seemed to be all on one side*. Dr. Harris quite indignantly repelled the '*innuendo*,' as he called it. The chair explained that no impeachment of the secretary's integrity was intended and so the matter dropped."

Mr. Harris said that in the very item which preceded the one he read, when Bishop Ames made the remark alluded to, he read a memorial against a change of the General Rule on Slavery from Freeport, Rock River Conference, and stated the number at twenty, when it should have been only seven, the very reverse of the correspondent's statement. He explained how this was occa-

sioned by the manner in which the person presenting the memorial had indorsed it. He called on Mr. Stoughton to corroborate his statement, which that gentleman did.

He was equally strenuous in favor of fair play. In 1860, when one of the minority moved that the operation of the previous question should be suspended during the consideration of the report on slavery, Dr. Harris seconded the amendment.

He was not a "society man," but was very communicative. One of the New York papers, in its excellent tribute to him, said: "With him dies more knowledge of Methodist affairs throughout the world than was possessed by any other man." This would have been true for any time during the past twelve years; but it is not lost. He has communicated it to his colleagues and brethren in the ministry, to the members of the committees, and, though no *one* possesses it, it is the property of the Church.

Outside of what he conceived to be his authority, and of what he knew himself to have mastered, he was diffident. If it had not been so he would have written more. He did prepare a work, in conjunction with the late Judge Henry, on ecclesiastical law, for which he was pre-eminently fitted; and it is said that he prepared and delivered at Drew two masterly discourses upon the relation of the bishops to the General Conference. It is to be hoped that these are in a condition to admit of publication.

At intervals, for some years before his death, he had had alarming attacks, of the cause of which his medical advisers were not certain. Early in the spring before his death he was attacked with vertigo and other distressing and dangerous symptoms; and having always before traveled under the pressure of great responsibility, attending strictly to the business committed to his care, he concluded that he would go abroad for rest. For a time his health appeared to improve every hour, and he wrote home the most encouraging letters; but suddenly an attack far more severe than any which he had ever had prostrated him. After he rallied somewhat he was brought home, and—his family being in the country at the time—was taken to a hotel. As soon as possible his residence was prepared, and he was removed thither.

In the midst of great physical suffering he met his fate

bravely, heroically: not with the heroism of the Indian chief who will not give his captors the pleasure of seeing any evidence of pain, but with the moral courage of the Christian. The following scene from his last rational moments exhibits him as the same straightforward man, "going forth to meet the unknown future with a steady step and an unfailing heart."

"You would be glad to recover and work longer?"

"Very, indeed."

"But if not?"

"The doctor in Liverpool told me that I was to make my arrangements, for I had but a few hours to live. I told him that I had not left the preparation for that hour till that hour. I say, I told him *I had not left the preparation for that hour till that hour.*"

"You are sure that it will be well?"

"I believe it with a steady and unwavering faith."

"Would you like me to pray with you?"

He roused himself, threw the whole force of his ordinary voice into his words, the full light came into his eye:

"My dear brother, you will greatly oblige me; *I believe in prayer.*"

Then with the tears of devotion and holy confidence flowing from his eyes he followed every petition. Afterward his pain increased, but once in his delirium he heard the voice of his son saying, "Father, do try to rest." He ceased his restless motion and said, "Rest, my son? Rest? *There is no rest here; rest is up there.*"

He was a laborer together with God, and it pleased God to answer in his death the prayer of Moses in the Psalm of Humanity: "And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it." For the work of William Logan Harris is so incorporated with the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church that neither it nor he can ever be forgotten.

JAMES M. BUCKLEY.

Art. II.—ON SOME CONTROVERTED POINTS IN THE EXPOSITION OF THE SEVENTH CHAPTER OF ROMANS.

There are two modes recognized by exegetical scholars of ascertaining the meaning of a passage of Scripture. One is, to take as "the starting-point the understanding of the details, in order to arrive at the understanding of the whole." The other is, "that the whole must be first understood in order to attain to the understanding of the individual parts." * The former is the natural method, and one that must commend itself to the student of the holy Scriptures. The context, also, must be carefully studied, so as to secure a clear view of the relations of the passage to what goes before and what follows, and to the main purpose of the writer.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the formulated doctrines which may be deduced from this paragraph, but to study some of the separate points on which controversy and wide divergences of opinion have arisen among New Testament scholars. This mode of approach to the meaning is necessarily incomplete, for it is as important to study the parts in the light of the context and of the purpose of the writer as it is to study the context and purpose of the writer in the light of its separate parts. Both methods are necessary to the thorough comprehension of the subject under consideration. This paper will be limited chiefly to the former method as a preparation for the latter.

The seventh chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans, especially the part beginning at the seventh verse and closing with the twenty-fifth, has been the subject of almost endless controversy. The diversity of views in the interpretation of this passage affords a clear illustration of the influence of subjective considerations over the normal exercise of the critical and logical powers. The early Church, especially the Greek Church, held one view. Augustine, following Methodius, gave emphasis to another exposition. His interpretation arose not so much from a critical study of the passage as from considerations of its application. Modern commentators have not hesitated to contend

* Immer's *Hermeneutics*, Newman's translation, p. 212.

for their particular view on the ground that it is more favorable to the promotion of a high Christian life than the other.

While our opinions, environments, and experiences must, in a greater or less degree, affect our interpretation of a written document so intensely personal as this passage, it is nevertheless the duty of the expositor to reduce these influences to the minimum, and to study the passage as dispassionately as possible. He would not only be a bold but a rash and unscholarly man who should discuss in a dogmatic spirit a passage so profound and difficult, and one on which so many pious thinkers of equal scholarship have differed so widely. It is proposed to touch some of the more salient points on which commentators have differed, in order to make apparent the lines of divergence. We will present these topics in the order in which they will naturally arrest the reader's attention.

The connection of the passage with the immediately preceding context requires mention. The tracing of the connection in Paul's writings is especially difficult. His frequent digressions, often without warning to the reader, involve the necessity of constant watchfulness to prevent confounding them with his main argument. The connection of this passage is shown by the question which the apostle at once asks: "Is the law sin?" This is the question an objector would naturally raise, and from the seventh to the thirteenth verse the apostle answers it by showing in his own past experience the blessed purpose of the law, and its blessed consequences as well. "Is the law sin?" On the contrary, "I had not known sin except through law." "By the law is the knowledge of sin." By its commands it shows the absolute rule of right, and by its rewards and penalties the attitude of God toward the actions of men. This will appear by reading the fifth verse with verses 7–13. If this stand-point of the apostle is properly interpreted it follows that from the fourteenth to the twenty-fifth verse there is a digression which is connected with what has gone before but not necessarily dependent on it. It is clear that this whole period has for its primary, if not exclusive, object the defense of the law against the attacks which the objectors had made upon it; showing that the law is not of the nature of sin, nor the cause of specific acts of transgression, but that which reveals sin to our apprehension and to our consciousness. We must assent to

the conclusion that the defense of the law is the primary object of the apostle in this passage: "I was alive without law once," Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ. The point of time indicated by ποτέ shows that it was not his state at the time of writing of which he speaks. There was a point in his history when he was alive, but afterward a new factor was introduced, namely, the commandment, at which point of time he died. This suddenness of the revival of sin, and of his death as a consequence of its revival, is shown by the employment of aorists throughout until the thirteenth verse. He argues the value of the law by showing what it had done for him. The argument of the apostle is certainly remarkable, and at first view seems to prove that the coming of the law was not a benefit but an injury. From a state of life he has been brought into a state of death; and yet the state of death was better than the life which he had enjoyed before the coming of the law. What is meant, then, by *being alive?* Dr. Beet says:

> His death was that separation from the life of God which is the immediate result of the sentence already pronounced on the sinner; which at once brings spiritual corruption, from which nothing but spiritual resurrection can save, and which otherwise will inevitably be eternal. It stands in awful contrast to the life which is the believer's present possession, and which will develop into eternal life. . . . Before Paul entered upon this state of death he *was alive*. His life was evidently that which he lost by death. . . . Paul says that when the law came he lost it. When was he thus alive? Not in his sinful days. He says expressly (Eph. ii, 1–5) that he was then dead. To say that he was then alive is utterly alien from the thought of Paul, and has no parallel in any of his writings. When was Paul under God's smile and on the way to eternal life? In the days of infancy, before the age of responsibility. He had then a life which the death of the body could not touch. To have slain the little one at Tarsus would only have have put him beyond the reach of sin and death. . . . Yet even in those days Paul was a child born in sin. But he knew not right and wrong. Consequently, the sin which lay in his heart was powerless and inactive. The child grew to boyhood. Through his mother's lips the commandment of God came to him. He learned that God had forbidden him to desire certain objects around. And now awoke to activity the innate but slumbering power of sin. Paul's own depraved nature led him to break the law, and thus made him conscious of the presence and power of sin. His death was the loss of the life he possessed in the days of innocence.*

* *Commentary on Romans*, p. 205.

Dr. Beet claims that this is the interpretation of Origen, with which Meyer and Godet concur. He thus joins the ancient and the modern interpreters in the support of his exposition. On the other hand, Dr. Shedd says:

> It is seeming life antithetic to the seeming death of sin in the preceding verse. The enjoyment of sin and the absence of remorse make up a false and counterfeit life which is the characteristic of the unconverted sinner. . . . The life intended here, in ἔζων, is the same with that expressed in the second member of the epicure's dictum: *dum vivimus, vivamus,* or in the common phrases, "high life" and "seeing life."*

The word "dead," in the preceding verse, he explains as "unconvicted," "without remorse." "Only a seeming death is meant, like the death of sleep. Compare Shakespeare's 'We were dead of sleep' (*Tempest,* v, i)."

These two widely divergent views, by two of the latest and most eminent commentators, show how arduous a task it is to determine or ascertain the exact meaning of the apostle's phrase.

It is difficult to conceive that Paul should have referred to the period antecedent to responsibility, that is, to his childhood state, without some more definite intimation of it. There is no other instance of such reference on the part of Paul. Besides, it is not a state which results in death to which sin brought him, but a state of death. "Sin revived . . . I died." The same remark will apply to Dr. Shedd's, "seeming death as contrasted with seeming life." The whole transaction is too intensely real to justify these interpretations.

Sin was in Paul's view a terrible reality, from which he had obtained deliverance through Christ; and he here adverts to his former state, when the law revealed to him his sinfulness, and became his school-master to bring him to Christ. Is it not better to affirm that by being "alive" the apostle meant to be without a consciousness of sin—in a state of enjoyment? When he did not understand the true nature of the law he thought himself a keeper of the law. Neither the statement that "his death was the loss of the life he possessed in the days of his innocence," nor that "the life intended here in ἔζων is that expressed in the second member of the epicure's dictum," meets

* Shedd's *Commentary on Romans,* p. 183.

the requirements of Paul's argument. His life, so far as we know it, was an intensely serious life. "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." He affirms the rectitude of his purposes and his consequent satisfaction with his own course. It was not "a false, counterfeit life;" it was an earnest life, but a mistaken one, actually enjoying its deeds, until the commandment came and awakened him to its real character. He himself says of his condition before conversion: "As touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the Church." On the other hand, by being dead, *νεκρά*, he means consciousness of being a sinner, deserving of the penalty due to those who violate the law of God.

With this interpretation in mind we may profitably examine the passage more closely. "I was alive without the law once." When was the once—*ποτέ*—when was he alive? It was the time when he was *χωρὶς νόμου*. The text does not say, without *the law*—that is, that he had not the law—but apart from the consideration or full comprehension of law, he was alive.

Meyer on Rom. iii, 28, on *χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου*, explains "without the co-operation therein of works of law (ver. 20), which on the contrary remain apart from all connection with it." It does not mean, then, without the possession of law, but without taking law into the account he was alive, but when a clear and full revelation of law came to him he died. Similarly Piele interprets:

> For when the pressure of law is not felt, a man's propensity to sin is not felt; it is even, as it were, dead within him. . . . Yea, I once, because I felt not the full significance and constraining power of law, had spiritual life in me, as I thought.

His being alive was not in connection with the ante-legal state, as Beet affirms, but with his condition apart from law. In this state he had a life of which he was deprived by the coming of the law in its fullness. When did this sense of the law fully come to him? Was it not when he was awakened on his way to Damascus? Then it was that he realized his inability to save himself by law, and surrendered himself to accept the gratuitous salvation provided by Christ. It was when sin deceived him, and through the law slew him, that he cried out for deliverance. The coming of the law into his consciousness was the

coming of death, because it revealed to him sin, which results in spiritual and eternal death.

Another exegetical difficulty has arisen at the fourteenth verse. The former part of the chapter uniformly employs the aorist tense, but at this point the present becomes the tense uniformly employed. How can this change be accounted for? Dr. Whedon's Commentary regards the whole passage (7–25) as a parenthesis, but offers no solution of this change of tense. He regards verses 7–12 as an expansion of verse 5, and verses 13–25 as an expansion of 7–12, and remarks that "it is clear that all three passages do describe but one thing: how with the man in the flesh under the law the motions of ~~sin bring~~ forth death."

Some explanation, however, is clearly needed, and Dr. Shedd says:

> St. Paul now turns to the experience of the regenerate. The sudden and striking change in verse 14 and continuing through the entire section, from the past to the present tense together with ποτέ in verse 9, indicates this.*

It is the mark, or at least one of the marks, by which Paul reveals the transition from the condition of the unregenerate to that of the regenerate.

Dr. Beet has also given an explanation, but a very different one. In his commentary on Rom. vii, 14, he says:

> Notice the change from the past to the present. In order to explain the purpose of a bygone event, namely, "sin slew me," Paul describes the abiding state of death in which that event placed him. The event of death is past, the state of death is present.

Again he says:

> It has been objected to the view here advocated that the change of tense between verses 13 and 14 implies a change of time. But we saw under verse 14 that the past tenses describe the event of death; the present tenses describe the abiding state which followed the event. . . . I account therefore for the grammatical structure of the passage by saying that Paul throws himself into the past and writes as though it were present. . . . The past and present tenses are distinguished not only in time but as different modes of viewing an action. The past tense looks upon it as already complete; the present, as going on before our eyes. He is at liberty, therefore, to use that tense which enables him

* Shedd's *Commentary on Romans*, l. c.

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to present most vividly the picture before him. This mode of speech is common to all languages: but it is a conspicuous feature of the language in which this epistle is written. (See Kuehner, Greek Grammar, § 382, 2.) . . . In the narration of past events the present is frequently used, especially in principal sentences, but not infrequently in subordinate sentences, while in the vividness of the presentation the past is looked upon as present.

In other words, at the fourteenth verse, for greater vividness of expression, or to make the language more pictorial, Paul employs the present tense. Dr. Beet, in common with Dr. Whedon, regards the paragraph as continuous and having no break in the subject. Dr. Shedd divides it into two sections, making the break at this point. But just why the ἐγὼ remains with a complete change of reference does not clearly appear.

Alford explains:

I believe the true account will be nearly as follows: From verses 7–13, inclusive, is *historical*, and the ἐγὼ there is the historical self, under the working of conviction of sin, and showing the work of the law. . . . Then at verse 14 Paul, according to a habit very common to him, keeps hold of the carnal self, and still having it in view, transfers himself into his present position, altering the past tense to the present.

Meyer also regards the paragraph as continuous:

For the subject is in verses 14–25 necessarily the same—and that, indeed, in its unredeemed condition—as previously gave its psychological history prior to and under the law (hence the preterites in verses 7–13), and now depicts its position confronting (δέ) the pneumatic nature of the law (hence the presents in verse 14, *ff*). . . . It is true the situation which the apostle thus exhibits in his own representative ego, was for himself as an individual one long since past; but he realizes it as present, and places it before their eyes like a picture, in which the stand-point of the happier present in which he now finds himself renders possible the perspective that lends to every feature of his portrait the light of clearness and truth.

Will it not be better to assume that the change of tense is due to the transition from an historical fact in his own experience, antecedent to the revelation of the law to him in its fullness, to a statement of a universal experience of all men, then and now, of the antagonism between a spiritual law which can only be fulfilled by a spiritual man, and the natural man. What he states in verses 7–13 is the fact that in his own case the law was a benediction and not an evil; that it revealed to him his

sinfulness; while in verses 14–25 he affirms an antagonism between the spiritual law and the natural man, which belongs to all men, and which is true of all men now, as the former fact was to him in *his* earlier experience.

The change of tense without notice is not infrequent in Paul's writings. His digressions are made without warning to the reader; a slight shade of thought passing through his mind, or the mention of a single word, is enough to set him off into a digression which illumines the subject under discussion and places it amid larger environments.

Who is meant by the ἐγὼ running through this section is another of the controverted points to which attention needs to be called. Is it Paul himself, or does he speak in a representative capacity?

Augustine, with others, regards the ἐγὼ as Paul himself, and this is the most natural meaning to be placed upon the language. Granting that in other places he employs the ἐγὼ and ἡμεῖς metaphorically, or, in his own language, 1 Cor. iv, 6, μετεσχημάτισα, it does not follow that such usage is applicable here. He is writing to the Roman Church, who would not be supposed to know this method of personification of the apostle, and would naturally interpret in a straightforward manner.

Further, it is inconceivable that he would do so in an epistle so important, and in which he was embodying a system of doctrine for the Church in the capital of the civilized world. The fact also that the ἐγὼ is carried throughout the paragraph, with the employment of the plural but twice, would indicate that he uses it in the ordinary sense. The pertinency also of the illustration would be more clear, and its influence greater on his hearers, if at this point he related his own experience in relation to the value of the law. And yet, as Tholuck observes, we require always to keep in view that Paul compresses individual experiences into general propositions and results.

The reader who takes up this book merely to ascertain its meaning, and looking at this passage as isolated from its connection after the manner already indicated as the initial step in the exposition of a passage, would not hesitate to believe that Paul is here using himself as an illustration of the doctrine he is enforcing; namely, the inability of the law to save the sinner,

and at the same time its excellence in revealing sin and in awakening a sense of sin.

Nor are we justified in accepting the different uses of ἐγὼ in the passage as claimed by Dr. Shedd.* He remarks, that in order to correct exegesis it is necessary in the outset to notice two senses in which ἐγὼ is used in this section by St. Paul:

1. *Comprehensive;* 2. *Limited.* The comprehensive ἐγὼ denotes the entire person of the believer, as actuated by *both* the Holy Spirit and the remainders of the evil principle of sin. The ἐγὼ in this sense is complete, and contains a mixture of both the spiritual and the carnal, in which, however, the *spiritual predominates.* The limited ἐγὼ, on the other hand, denotes the person of the believer *only as actuated by the Holy Spirit,* omitting and excluding the workings of remaining sin. The instances of this latter signification are only two, namely: ἐγὼ in verses 17 and 20, qualified by οὐκέτι. This limited ἐγὼ is also described in verse 22 as ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, and in verses 23 and 25 as ὁ νόμος τοῦ νοός. The comprehensive ἐγὼ includes the limited ἐγὼ *plus* the remnants of the old sinful nature. The limited ἐγὼ includes only the new principle of holiness *minus* these remnants. The former is a complex of grace and sin; the latter is grace simply and only.

This analysis is exceedingly clear, and is put in the masterly and analytic style for which Dr. Shedd is so justly admired. Of course, if we assume the stand-point of Dr. Shedd, namely, that Paul is describing in verses 14–25 a regenerate man, some such discrimination in the meaning of ἐγὼ in different parts of this paragraph is necessary; but if, on the other hand, we look at this passage in its parts as we are now doing, the student would scarcely suspect any such subtle discrimination. It is supposable that he would continue to use the ἐγὼ in the same sense throughout the same discussion.

Looking at this passage in the absence of a theory of interpretation, we reach the conclusion that Paul is here speaking of his own experience at some point in his past life or during some condition of it.

It is important to notice that one of the points made by Dr. Shedd in explanation, if not in proof, of his discrimination between the unlimited and the limited ἐγὼ is, that the comprehensive ἐγὼ "contains a mixture of both the spiritual and the carnal, in which, however, *the spiritual predominates.*" At what

* Shedd's *Commentary on Romans,* p. 191.

point in this chapter does the "spiritual predominate?" This is a question of the utmost importance. It can be answered only by referring to the passage itself. The quotations are from the late Revision: "For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin" (ver. 14); "What I hate, that I do" (ver. 15); "For the good which I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I practise" (ver. 19); "For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" Vers. 22–24.

This passage, which Dr. Whedon felicitiously calls the battle of the I's, is remarkable for the fact that victory never is with the I of the higher nature, but invariably with the I of the lower nature. It is a conflict between σάρξ, and νοῦς, in which the σὰρξ is invariably victor. The bearing of the twenty-fifth verse is simply to summarize the nature of the conflict. The conclusion was interrupted by the thanksgiving of the apostle that in his helplessness he had found deliverance in Jesus Christ. One who is conversant with the style of Paul will see in this verse, in its relation to the previous context, a familiar form of Pauline style. He is describing the conflict with all the fervor of recollections which were vivid and fresh; he reaches the point where the helplessness of the natural man becomes overpowering; he cries out for deliverance in one of the most impassioned utterances to be found in any language, and, full of rapturous joy, bursts into thanksgiving for the prospect of deliverance and for the deliverer. It is the mighty sweep of his great soul, stirred to its very depths, that could not stop until rescued from his state of nature and brought into the state of grace. He then stops, and in a single sentence he recalls the conflict and the parties to it. "So then I myself with the mind serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin." Ver. 25.

This brings us to a point of practical importance: is it the regenerate man battling with indwelling sin who is here described, or is it the natural man in whom the higher and the lower natures are in conflict? The *I myself*, in the twenty-fifth verse, has the two parts already indicated; namely, the νοῦς and the σάρξ. Do these two parts constitute the natural man or the

spiritual man? We must be careful here in the definition of our terms. If by the natural man it is meant to describe a man who has no spiritual light, no divine voice speaking to him, then it must be conceded that this is a description too high for such a person; but if we bear in mind that this is one to whom the law has spoken, and who has been awakened by the Spirit of God, then we have a description in harmony with human experience in all ages of the Church.

The exact point of discussion, however, is, whether the *νοῦς*, *ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*, *πνεῦμα*, are here identical. Dr. Shedd says, *ἔσω ἄνθρωπον* is identical with the limited *ἐγὼ* of verses 17 and 20, and *ὁ νόμος τοῦ νοὸς* in verse 23, and *ὁ νοῦς* (put for *νόμος τοῦ νοὸς* in verse 25). He quotes Pareus: "*Interior homo est novus seu regeneratus, mens illuminata, voluntas renovata,*" with approval. His own statement is most emphatic:

> But St. Paul's description of the *ἔσω ἄνθρωπος* makes it to be a dominant and controlling principle, able to struggle with and triumph over the powerful remnants of corruption (vii, 25). It is not a weak and vacillating aspiration, but a strong and abiding disposition. The *ἔσω ἄνθρωπος* is the human spirit regenerated and inhabited by the Holy Spirit. It is not the merely human, but the human and divine in synthesis.

It is not the contention of this paper that it is not the "human and divine in synthesis," for the immanence of the divine in human consciousness is nowhere denied, but that the person here described is not the "human spirit regenerate." It is not a man who is "without God in the world," but one to whom God has come in enlightening and awakening power, but not in regenerating power.

It is to be noted, first of all, that the word spiritual or spirit does not occur between the fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter and the second verse of the eighth chapter. In chapter vii, verse 14, we read: "We know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin." Hodge and Meyer define *πνευματικὸς* as being "the expression of the Holy Spirit, the absolute *πνεῦνα*." This is more than the mere statement that the law is the embodiment of the Holy Spirit, and is fulfilled, as Tholuck states, "only by those who are actuated by the Holy Spirit." In other words, it is the statement that the spiritual man only can be in harmony with the spiritual law. If

he is not spiritual, if he has not become a new creature, by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, there must be a constant antagonism between him and this spiritual law. That the man here described is not in harmony, but in a state of antagonism, is shown by the statement, "But I am carnal, sold under sin." It seems strange that one should say that the "word πεπράμενος, like σάρκινός, is used relatively." Certainly the figure of slavery is the strongest conceivable. If Paul had deliberately undertaken to build a phrase which should express a state of bondage most completely, he could not have framed one more expressive than that which he here employs. "It recalls the slave market and the master, whose property Paul now legally is."

The remaining description clearly shows a man in whom the σάρξ predominates. Moreover, the absence of πνεῦμα, and the substitution of νοῦς and ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, show the nature of the conflict as one which takes place in the man whom Paul describes in the beginning of the contest as "carnal." The ἔσω ἄνθρωπος determines nothing in itself as to its precise import in any particular place. It is merely the inner as opposed to the outer, and is to be explained according to the person under consideration. It may mean the mental as opposed to the physical, in a regenerate or in an unregenerate man. The most recent New Testament lexicon (Thayer) defines ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος "the internal, inner man, that is, the soul, conscience."

In 2 Cor. iv, 16, there is a direct contrast between the outer man and the inner man, the former referring to the corporeal, the latter to the intellectual. The meaning, a renewed man, cannot be drawn from the language itself, but must be gained, if at all, from its setting in the sentence. What it means will further appear from the word which in the passage represents it, namely, νοῦς. Thayer's Lexicon defines this word as follows:

> 1. The mind, comprising alike the faculties of perceiving and understanding and those of feeling, judging, determining; hence, *a*) the intellectual faculty, the understanding, opposed to τὸ πνεῦμα, the spirit intensely roused and completely absorbed with divine things, but destitute of clear ideas of them; . . . *b*) reason in the narrower sense, as the capacity for spiritual truth, the higher powers of the soul, the faculty of perceiving divine things, of recognizing goodness and of hating evil.

These are the chief meanings assigned to the word, and it will be seen that none of them include the element of regeneration. There is such a thing as the renewal of the mind, *ἡ ἀνακαίνωσις τοῦ νοός* (Rom. xii, 2), but this renewal is the work of the Holy Spirit, which constitutes the essence of the new nature. In Eph. iv, 23, the apostle exhorts to "be renewed in the spirit of your mind," which Thayer* expounds "to be so changed that the spirit which governs the mind is renewed," It is clear that without some words to qualify it, and show that it means a regenerate man, it cannot be so employed without violence to the ordinary usage of the word.

If further proof were needed that this paragraph does not refer to the regenerate Paul, but to Paul under law—convicted, enlightened, but not saved—it will be found by recurring to the point in the apostle's argument where this discussion begins, namely, at the sixth verse of this chapter: "So that we serve in newness of the spirit, and not in oldness of the letter:" *ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος.*

What are we to understand by *καινότητι πνεύματος*, and also by *παλαιότητι γράμματος*?

> It weakens the force of the expressions very much to say, that *πνεῦμα* here is the "human spirit, enlightened, enlivened, and actuated by the divine; a new spirit in man compared with the previous one." †

The contrast here does not seem to be between the new spirit and the old letter, but between the new man — the new creature, animated by the Holy Spirit—and the old man, the unregenerate man, dominated by the law. The absence of the article with *πνεύματος* and *γνάμματος* does not conflict with this view, for it marks that while each is spoken of in its individual character, their qualitative aspect floats before the mind of the apostle. In the first part of the verse, having stated that we are free from the law as a basis of justification, the apostle concludes with the result of the freedom; namely, a service which proceeds from the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and not a service under the dominance of the mere letter of the law. Then the *πνεῦμα* drops out of the discussion, until it re-appears in the eighth chapter, as expressive of the characteristic mark of

* Lexicon, on *νοῦς*. † Shedd.

a regenerate man: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death." It is apparent, then, that νοῦς and ἔσω ἄνθρωπος do not equal πνεῦμα, but the condition of Paul antecedent to the entrance of the πνεῦμα into his heart. If the phrase *sold under sin* is to be taken in its full sense, and not "relatively" (the latter—*Shedd*), what shall be the interpretation of the twenty-second verse, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man," συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον?

Perhaps there are few passages of Scripture where subjective considerations have apparently had more to do with interpretation than in the fourteenth and the twenty-third verses of this chapter. Augustine is said to have held the view of the early Greek commentators until, in a controversy, he came to the conclusion that συνήδομαι represented too high a state for the unregenerate man. Dr. Whedon, who gives full force to "sold under sin," seems to weaken the force of this word. On the other hand, Dr. Shedd, who says πεπραμένος ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν is used relatively, affirms of συνήδομαι, "It denotes a feeling of the heart, positive enjoyment." He quotes as authority Plato's *Republic*, which says: "When any one of the citizens experiences any good or evil, the whole State will make his case their own, and either rejoice (ξυνησθήσεται) or sorrow with him." Beet translates: "I am pleased together with the law," that is, "what pleases the law pleases me." He adds: "The rendering, 'I delight in the law,' is less agreeable to the form of this not uncommon Greek word, and is supported only by one or two passages in the poets." The passage from Plato's *Republic*, quoted above, is a prose passage, and in contrast with "sorrow," gives a strong sense of delight to this word. But why not let it have its full sense? Assuming, as is generally done, that the ἐγὼ is Paul himself, what objection to the statement that even in his unregenerate state he delighted in the law of God? The law had encompassed him from his childhood. It had been the study of his life; his zeal for it had never died. It is true, before his conversion he did not see the depth of its meaning, but it was the law of his God and of his people, nevertheless. The inward man, though, even before regeneration, delighted in that law. It was probable that there was

never an hour in his history when he would not have said with the psalmist, "Thy law is my delight;" "The law of thy mouth is more precious to me than thousands of gold and of silver." Instead of being surprised that Paul used this expression of himself at that time, would it not be more surprising if he had used any weaker words to express his regard for the law, which had not only been his inheritance, but the subject of his meditations for so many years?

But if we go further, and regard Paul as representing here not only himself, but the non-Jewish world, there need be no modification of the full meaning of the language. If by the natural man we mean the natural man to whom the law has come with its grandeur and perfection; if we assume only the law written in the heart of the pagan, and the enlightenment which God does not withhold from those who desire the truth, it may still be affirmed, without predicating "of the character of the natural man what the Church dogma decidedly denies to it."

That the pagan world did have some lofty conceptions of a similar conflict to the one represented in this paragraph is shown by quotations made by Dr. Beet, whose views have been already frequently mentioned:

> It has been objected that the language of the section is inapplicable to men not yet justified. But we find similar language on the lips of Greek and Roman pagans. Compare Seneca's Letters, 52: "What is it that draws us in one direction while striving to go in another, and impels us toward that which we wish to avoid?" . . . Xenophon's Cyropædia, vi, 1, 41: "I have evidently two souls, . . . for if I have only one it would not be at the same time good and bad; nor would it desire at the same time both honorable and dishonorable works; nor would it at the same time both wish and not wish to do the same things. But it is evident that there are two souls, and that when the good one is in power the honorable things are practiced, but when the bad, the dishonorable things are attempted." . . . Euripides, *Medea*, 1078: "I know what sort of bad things I am going to do, but passion is stronger than my purposes. And this is to mortals a cause of great evils." I do not say that these passages teach the great truth to prove which Paul quotes his own experience. Nor do they mention the law of God. But they prove that in many cases men are carried along against their better judgment to do bad things. . . . And these passages also prove that even in pagans there is an inward man which approves what God's law approves.

If we consult the experiences of Christian men before conversion, we will find many who, even in their sinful state, could say, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man." The awakening of the conscience shows also the beauty of the divine law. There are things, beautiful things, whose contemplation gives delight, but to which we either do not care to come or cannot come. In fact, it is one of the deepest proofs of our depravity that when we see the law, the good, even when we desire it, we do not or cannot grasp it and keep it. How terrible the condition of one dying of thirst with water within reach, who is so under bondage that he will not and cannot stretch forth his hand to take it! The whole trend of thought of the Epistle to the Romans is not to show that men do not know the good or desire it, but that, appreciating the good, and even desiring it, they do not perform it, and are helpless to save themselves from their condition. Who more likely to cry out, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me?" than he who is in the condition above described? It is the cry of a helpless soul, and is followed by a thanksgiving for deliverance wrought by Jesus Christ. Paul represents the whole creation as groaning for deliverance, and this groaning God has heard.

The characteristic of the new man is the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, and this new creation of God in the human soul, and giving the victory, is brought to view in the beginning of the eighth chapter. In this chapter we pass to a new stage of man's history, and that stage is marked by the introduction of the key-word of the Christian religion and of the Christian life—the Holy Spirit.

It has thus been attempted to set forth some of the points of divergence in the interpretation of this profound study of the great apostle, but not in any formal way to harmonize theological theories. And yet they have a most important bearing upon great doctrines and experiences of the Christian life. At another time the doctrinal bearings of this chapter and of its interpretations may be considered.

HENRY A. BUTTZ.

Art. III.— CHURCH UNION AND ANGLICAN ORDINATION.

The question of Church Unity, and of the fraternal union of the various Protestant denominations, has recently been brought once more into great prominence, and has attracted very general attention. The renewed interest in this subject is due very largely to agitation within the Anglican bodies, both on this and on the other side of the sea.

In the Church of England the desire for union has taken two forms, which are closely akin but have some difference. On the part of some connected with the Establishment, there has been a strong desire to have the dissenting bodies give up their organizations and blend with the national Church; on the part of others, there has been an earnest desire for the disappearance of the differences which not only keep the bodies apart, but which are also the occasion of considerable antagonism. The former class would absorb the Dissenters; the latter would like at least a greater degree of fraternity.

Dr. Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury, in an address delivered in 1872 to the rural deaneries of North and South Malling, said:

> I think we shall fail of our duty if we confine our regard to the Episcopal Churches, and are not anxious to give the hand of brotherhood to others also with whom we are intimately connected in the bonds of a common faith.*

Again, the Archbishop said in the same address:

> No doubt, also, it is a grave and important subject for us to consider, that while men are holding out the right hand of fellowship to the Episcopal Churches of the Continent, there are so many of our own brethren at home from whom we are estranged. Every effort which can be made to unite us more truly in the bonds of Christian love with these our brethren at home seems to come to us recommended by something more practical than is found in efforts to unite with foreigners, many of whom show little inclination to admit us to their fellowship, and some of whom could not admit us without our denying the great principles of our Reformed Church. †

* *Present Position of the Church of England*, London, 1872, pp. 90, 91.

† *Present Position of the Church of England*, pp. 91, 92.

That the Primate meant something different from absorption or organic unity may be inferred from the remarks immediately following those just quoted, when he says:

> I am no visionary, looking forward to a time when all the various denominations throughout Britain are to come and desire admission into the Church of England; but still I think if we persevere in the loving, faithful discharge of our duty—if we adhere faithfully to the formularies which we have received from the time of the Reformation, and if we show in all things where we can without any compromise of principle a hearty spirit of Christian love—there is every hope that in Christ's good time the differences that keep us apart may disappear.*

In this country similar feelings pervade the Protestant Episcopal Church. This fact was manifest by various discussions prior to the meeting of the General Convention of that body last year, and by various deliverances during its deliberations.

The boldest effort was made by Dr. Phillips Brooks, of Boston, who offered a resolution stating "that the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church sends cordial greetings to the Assembly of the Congregational Church." This called forth both support and opposition; but the majority seemed hardly ready to acknowledge the Congregational body to be a Church. The result was, that a resolution declaring "that we send our cordial greetings to our Congregational brethren," was substituted. This recognized them as individual Christians, and hence brethren, but did not acknowledge their body to be a Church; and the substitution of "brethren" for "Church" was regarded as very significant.

In this form the resolution passed to the House of Bishops for concurrence. This was on Wednesday, October 13, 1886. On Friday, the 15th, the Bishops sent the following message to the deputies in response to the above resolution:

> The House of Bishops respectfully informs the House of Deputies that having, from the first day of its session, had before it the momentous subject of Christian unity, and the reunion of Christendom, it takes the opportunity presented by the action of the House of Deputies (communicated in Message No. 12) to assure that House of its profound sympathy with the spirit of these resolutions. This House declares its hearty respect and affection for all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and at this time, especially, for their fellow-Christians assembled in

* *Present Position of the Church of England*, p. 92.

this city as the "National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States." This House also avows its solemn purpose, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to promote, with the concurrence of the House of Deputies, some practical plan for bringing before all our fellow-Christians in this land the duty to our common Lord and Saviour of terminating the unhappy divisions which dishonor his blessed name, and hinder the trumph upon earth of his glorious kingdom.

Resolved, That Message No. 12, from the House of Deputies, be respectfully returned to that House with the above statement of the reasons for the failure of the House of Bishops to approve the resolution contained in said message.

So far there was nothing final, though there was enough of the conservative spirit in it to develop the fear that the matter would end in what has been termed "hazy compromise." It was noticeable that the bishops appeared to avoid any recognition of the Congregational body as a Church, and only used the word "Churches" in quoting the legal title of the "National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States." As it was a quotation, they escaped committing themselves on the point as to whether the Congregational body was a Church, whereas Dr. Phillips Brooks's resolution took the responsibility of a recognition, and mentioned "the Congregational Church."

On the 20th of October, the very day the Committee on the State of the Church presented majority and minority reports on the question of the unity of Christians, the House of Bishops sent a message on the same subject to the House of Deputies, in response to various memorials. The declaration of the Bishops is as follows:

We do hereby solemnly declare to all whom it may concern, and especially to our fellow-Christians of the different communions in this land, who in their several spheres have contended for the religion of Christ:

1. Our earnest desire is, that the Saviour's prayer, "that we all may be one," may, in its deepest and truest sense, be speedily fulfilled.

2. That we believe that all who have been duly baptized with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost are members of the Holy Catholic Church.

3. That in all things of human ordering or human choice relating to modes of worship and discipline, or to traditional customs, this Church is ready, in the spirit of love and humility, to forego all preferences of her own.

4. That this Church does not seek to absorb other communions, but, rather, co-operating with them on the basis of a common faith and order, to discontinue schism, to heal the wounds of the body of Christ, and to promote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world. But, furthermore, we do hereby affirm that the Christian unity so earnestly desired by the memorialists can be restored only by the return of all Christian communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first age of its existence, which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian faith and order committed by Christ and his apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal good of all men. As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following—to wit :

1.) The Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, as the revealed word of God.

2.) The Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

3.) The two sacraments—baptism and the supper of the Lord —ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by him.

4.) The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and people called of God into the unity of his Church.

Furthermore, deeply grieved by the said divisions which afflict the Christian Church in our land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the Church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass.

This very cautiously worded communication "to all whom it may concern," has been regarded as a great advance on the part of the Protestant Episcopal bishops, and as lifting the Protestant Episcopal Church "to a higher plane of Catholic charity than it has ever occupied before;" but it will be observed that "all whom it may concern" are not referred to as Christian Churches, but as "different communions," "other communions," "Christian communions," and "Christian bodies," while the Protestant Episcopal Church is referred to as "this Church." Thus it starts out with what many will claim to be a tacit denial that the other "Christian bodies" are Christian Churches,

which at first sight is not calculated to commend it to bodies which have been calling themselves Churches, some even for centuries.

Then the efforts in the House of Deputies to change the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church by striking out Protestant Episcopal and calling it "The Church," "The Church in the United States of America," or "The American Catholic Church," are calculated to have the same repellent effect. It is true that these efforts did not succeed, but, nevertheless, the close and growing vote in their favor tends to put other Churches on the defensive.

Such facts as these have caused many denominations to look with not a little suspicion on proposals of union from the Anglican Church. It has been felt by many that the proposals were akin to the invitation of the spider to the fly, and that the resultant union would be after the fashion of the lion and the lamb lying down together, with the lamb inside the lion. If this is what the proposed unity means, then it will not be attractive to many, for all living bodies naturally shrink from absorption and annihilation.

But the declaration of the Protestant Episcopal bishops says:

> This Church does not seek to absorb other communions, but, rather, co-operating with them on the basis of a common faith and order, to discontinue schism, to heal the wounds of the body of Christ, and to promote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world.

This seems plain enough and fair enough; but the concluding part of the bishops' communication uses expressions which appear to throw this clear statement into confusion, and raise the question whether there is not a little contradiction. In the concluding paragraph reference is made to "the sad divisions which afflict the Christian Church in our land," and "desire and readiness" are expressed "to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the Church."

Here the objective point is "organic unity," and thus the project becomes somewhat indefinite. Co-operation is one thing, organic unity is another. In one place the thing said to be sought is co-operation, but in another place the thing

pointed out is organic unity. If there is organic unity then there cannot be co-operation, for co-operation implies different bodies, while organic unity implies only one. If organic union takes place then there will be absorption, or, at least, combination and assimilation. The bishops' declaration, however, is that the Protestant Episcopal "Church does not seek to absorb other communions." But without something in the nature of absorption there cannot be organic unity. Now, if the Protestant Episcopal Church does not seek to "absorb other communions," does the declaration mean that the other "Christian bodies" shall absorb it? This it will hardly permit, if it hold that the others are not Churches, and that it is "the Church." If, then, it will not absorb others and will not let others absorb it, how can the "organic unity" be brought about? Certainly there is some confusion of terms, if not confusion of intention. The proposal of the House of Bishops, however, should be received in a spirit of fairness and fraternity, and should be examined with care and intelligence, for it is to be assumed that it springs from a good motive.

Naturally, the first question which will arise among the bodies invited to consider the propriety of entering this new relation will be, What does it mean? Is it union in the sense of co-operation, or is it organic unity in the sense of absorption and consequent annihilation of the old organism? Is the one side to give up every thing and deny its past, while the other side takes every thing and gives up nothing? Does it mean that Lutherans, Baptists, Presbyterians, and all the others are to become Protestant Episcopalians?

These questions will be asked, for it is important to know precisely what is intended. If it means organic unity in the sense that there will be only one ecclesiastical organization, then there is no probability that it ever will take place. It is not likely, for example, that the great Presbyterian bodies will ever consent to be merged into the Protestant Episcopal.

But, even if organic unity could be brought about, it is a question whether the resultant evil would not be greater than the good, no matter what polity might be adopted. History tells us that the days of the greatest ecclesiastical unity in the Christian Church were the darkest and most corrupt, and that greater purity came with the ecclesiastical divisions following

the great Lutheran protest against the corrupt centralization of the Roman Church.'

Professor George R. Crooks, D.D., LL.D., in the *Century* for December, 1886, well says that "the trouble we had to get clear of Rome ought to be a reminder to us Protestants that a concentrated ecclesiastical unity is sure to be a concentrated ecclesiastical tyranny."

Divisions on principle tend to the preservation of purity in doctrine and freedom in government, and, at the same time, the different bodies in their common struggle stimulate each other to sustained activity and provoke one another unto good works. The different Protestant bodies will not require much time to decide against organic unity in one ecclesiastical organization; but fraternal union, where common equality is acknowledged and fraternal co-operation is practiced, is a very different thing from organic unity. It has all the good of unity without its evil; and in it there is no necessary humiliation for any denomination, for then each body, agreeing on fundamentals, may agree to disagree on non-essentials, and so each continue to preserve its cherished peculiarities.

Now, if this fraternal union and brotherly co-operation be what is meant when the Protestant Episcopal bishops say their "Church does not seek to absorb other communions, but, rather, co-operating with them on the basis of a common faith and order to," etc., then there will be a hearty fraternal response on the part of the other Christian Churches constituting our common Protestantism. But if this common desire for mutual recognition and co-operation exists, why does not the recognition and union exist as an accomplished fact? Every Protestant Church, we may say, is willing to recognize the Protestant Episcopal and the Church of England as true Christian Churches. Then, if both are desirous of recognizing each other, why does not the mutual recognition take place at once, without any further waste of time? We may go a step further, and affirm that all, or almost all, the other Protestant Churches do recognize the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Churches as true Churches. Yet the fraternal union between such bodies does not exist.

What is the matter? Why does not the fraternal feeling fully manifest itself? The fault does not appear, generally

speaking, to be on the side of the "other communions." In every case, or almost every case, they will accept Protestant Episcopal ministers on their ministerial standing in that body, and their members on their good standing in that communion; but there is no reciprocity on the other side. The Protestant Episcopal Church practically denies the ministerial standing of the minister who comes to it from another Protestant Church, and practically denies the church-membership of the Christian who comes to it from another Protestant Church, for it insists upon re-ordaining the minister and upon confirming the member.

This is the situation. One side recognizes the other, the other side does not recognize it. All that is needed, then, is for the one which holds aloof to make a similar recognition.

The difficulty seems to be with the Protestant Episcopal Church; for while some in that body seem willing to recognize the other Churches, others make the desired consummation more difficult by trying to make their body an un-Protestant Church, and, calling it "The Church," practically say, "We are the Church and have the true ministry, and the other communions are not Churches and have not a valid ministry." Certainly such wooing is not very winning, and not calculated to draw the different bodies together in harmonious co operation.

In the conditions just suggested lies the real difficulty raised by the Anglican bodies against recognizing the other Protestant Reformed Churches. It is in the matter of the episcopacy and clerical orders. They claim the necessity of episcopal ordination, and of episcopal ordination by bishops in lineal succession from the apostles; and further, that these bishops are of a higher clerical order than the presbyters, and that presbyters have no right to ordain.

The bishops, in their communication, present, as the last point "essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom," "the historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and people called of God into the unity of his Church." This may mean much or little according to the interpretation put upon it, but it appears to carry with it the idea of ordination by bishops as contradistinguished from presbyters.

Some kindly disposed persons of the Protestant Episcopal

Church have proposed as a way out of the difficulty that all the ministers of other Protestant bodies shall come to the Protestant Episcopal bishops for ordination. But suppose they did so, and then kept on with their Presbyterial and Congregational polities, how much different would the situation be?

As far as the simple historic fact goes, most of these denominations, at their start, received their ordination from bishops or from those who had received episcopal ordination, and they were no better or worse for that. So for the ministers of the present to submit to such ordination would not really change the present condition of things, unless they would go further, and establish episcopal government with bishops consecrated by Church of England or Protestant Episcopal bishops. Even if they did that there would not be true "organic unity," for still they would have separate organizations.

Another way would be for all the ministers of the other bodies, as they came up through the generations, to go to such bishops for ordination. But this would not give "organic unity," and this would be an admission of superiority which probably no Church would consent to make. It would be a confession by the others that they had not a true ministry and were not true Churches. For their clergy to go to the Protestant Episcopal bishops for ordination would be saying, practically, that they were without valid orders, and would be a concession to the "grace of orders" and the spirit of sacerdotalism which these Churches are not likely to make, and which they could not make without casting a painful reflection upon a record which in many instances is most glorious. Such a system of mortification is hardly calculated to bring about the desired union.

As to the proposal that the other denominations shall accept the "historic episcopate," there will be little difficulty if each body is permitted to determine for itself what is the "historic episcopate." The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists say their pastors are bishops, and that theirs is the "historic episcopate" of New Testament times; and the Methodist Episcopalians say their presbyter-superintendents are bishops, and that they have the "historic episcopate" of the primitive Christian Church, adapted to present needs. It is not likely that any of these Churches will yield this point, though, no

doubt, they will be willing to admit that the *episcopoi* of the Anglican communions are real bishops.

We may here ask whether this barrier of episcopal government and episcopal ordination always existed, and whether it can be removed. Besides this we may put another question; namely, whether there are not already existing in the Anglican bodies the elements on which the proposed fraternal union may be based without causing humiliation to them or others.

A study of the points involved will carry us back to the time of the Protestant Reformation. The Protestants on the continent, though springing from an episcopal Church, abandoned the episcopal organization, for the simple reason that the episcopacy sided with the papacy. In England, on the contrary, Protestantism continued to be episcopal because the episcopacy was in harmony with King Henry VIII. in his opposition to the pope. Thus it happened that Continental Protestantism became presbyterian and English Protestantism remained episcopal. A double question now arises: first, How did the English Church regard its episcopacy? and, second, What relation existed between the English Church and the Protestant Reformed Churches on the continent?

In 1537, shortly after the separation of the Anglican Church from Rome, there was published by the authority of the king the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which teaches the parity of bishops and presbyters as to clerical orders. Bishop Burnet remarks:

> Both in this writing and in the *Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, bishops and priests are spoken of as one and the same office. In the ancient Church they knew none of those subtleties which were found out in the latter ages.*

In 1540, in answer to questions submitted by the king to the bishops and learned divines, Archbishop Cranmer replied that "the bishops and priests at one time were not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion;" and the Archbishop of York said, "the name of a bishop is not properly a name of order, but a name of office, signifying an overseer." †

These answers represented the views of the English Reform-

* Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Addenda to Part I.

† Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Records xxv, answer to tenth question.

ers. They held that there were only two clerical orders—namely, priests and deacons; and that bishops and priests were not different orders, but the same, the name bishop not indicating an order but an office. Holding this, they could not logically deny the legality of presbyterial ordination. The facts show that in practice they admitted the validity of presbyterian orders, and that they saw nothing in their episcopal organization to prevent the closest fraternal relations with the Protestant Reformed Churches on the Continent which had only presbyterial ordination.

Dr. Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury, in one of his addresses "at his primary visitation" in 1872, admitted this close relationship. He said:

> Every one knows that we of the Church of England, in the early times of our history, after the Reformation, were much more connected with the non-episcopal than with the episcopal communions.*

This admission of England's primate is worthy of the careful consideration of the Anglican bodies at the present time, for, if such fraternal relations with non-episcopal Churches existed in the early times, there should be no insuperable obstacle in the way of the resumption of such relations in these later times.

The intimate character of the fraternal relations existing between the Anglican Episcopal Church and the Continental Presbyterian Churches appears from many facts, a few of which may be recited.

Henry VIII. sent two invitations urging Melanchthon to visit England, and it appears that, subsequently, Melanchthon was offered the chair of divinity at Cambridge. Thomas Cromwell wanted to bring about an alliance of all Protestantism, and Cranmer tried to secure a council "of wise and godly men" to compare their opinions, and to come to some agreement, and for this purpose he invited Melanchthon, Calvin, and Bullinger. He also invited many continental Reformers to come to England and assist in the English Reformation. Among those who came were Martyr the Florentine, and Bucer the Reformed minister of Strasburg. Martyr was made a canon, and given the professorship of divinity at Oxford, and Bucer was made divinity professor at Cambridge. Both of these

* *Present Position of the Church of England*, p. 90.

learned men were in England before the first prayer-book of Edward VI. was issued, and in making the English Prayer-Book the liturgies of the foreign Reformed Churches were used. Both Martyr and Bucer were called in to assist in the revision which resulted in the Second Prayer-Book.

The articles drawn up in Edward's time were forty-two in number, and in this work Peter Martyr had an important part, as he had also in the Second Book of Common Prayer. As a basis for action by the commission, Cranmer submitted thirteen articles, made up chiefly from the Augsburg Confession. In this fact there was a tacit recognition of a continental Church; and the English Reformers at this time did not hesitate to refer to the non-episcopal Protestant bodies on the continent as Churches. The articles which were adopted were based upon the Augsburg Confession, just as the English Prayer-Book was based upon the liturgies of the continental Reformed Churches.

There is nothing in the forty-two articles which would unchurch any non-episcopal Church, or deny its validity; but, on the contrary, it is evident from the circumstances, from the phraseology, and from the testimony of history that they were expressly intended to acknowledge the Protestant Reformed Churches which were not episcopal.

We turn to the forty-two articles to see if there is any thing that declares the invalidity of non-episcopal Churches. The twentieth article (now the nineteenth) says:

> The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

In this definition of a Christian Church there is no proclamation or suggestion of episcopal government as a requisite, or, indeed, of the necessity of any particular form of polity, but its very wording leads to the inference that, though forms vary, there might be in all the true visible Church. Its definition of "the visible Church of Christ" is, "congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered." Even in regard to preaching and the administration of the sacraments it seems to suggest that there may be differences, for all that is required is, that these shall be done "in all those things that of *necessity* are

requisite to the same;" but it does not presume to declare in detail what things are necessary. There is, therefore, nothing in this article that would prevent the recognition of any Protestant body, be it Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational; and, from the relations existing between the English Reformers and the continental Reformers, the legitimate inference is, that this article was so constructed for the express purpose of covering the other Protestant Reformed Churches. The twenty-fourth article (now the twenty-third), defining the true ministry, says:

> It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

There is not a single word in this article declaring the necessity of apostolic succession through bishops or others, or of ordination by bishops as distinct from presbyters, or of the necessity of three ministerial orders.

Whatever the Church of England preferred for itself, when it came to define a valid ministry it did not specify how many ministerial orders there should be, or by what particular form or method the minister should be set apart for his work. The article merely declares that a minister is one who is "lawfully called" to the work of "preaching, or ministering the sacraments," and that those are "lawfully called and sent," "which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." This is so broad that it recognizes those called and set apart according to the law and form of any Church, or, where the Church is Congregational, by the independent congregation; and the article distinctly says, in the phrase "we ought," that the Church of England "ought to judge" such persons as "lawfully called and sent," or, in other words, as legitimate Christian ministers. Indeed, it was the evident intention of the makers of this article to recognize the ministry of those Protestant Reformed Churches who were without episcopal government. So Bishop Burnet says:

The general words in which this part of the article is framed seem to have been designed on purpose not to exclude them.*

That it was intended to recognize diversities of government and usage in the true Church may be inferred from the thirty-third article (now the thirty-fourth). It says:

> It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word.

So that though the Book of Common Prayer and the various rites and ceremonies of the Anglican Church were "by all faithful members of the Church of England, but chiefly of the ministers of the word, with all thankfulness and readiness of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the people of God," (art. xxxv of the forty-two articles), yet there is not the slightest disposition manifested to expect them to be received by other Churches, or the faintest intimation that Churches not conforming to them are not true Churches; but, on the contrary, that a Christian body may be a true Church though differing in "traditions and ceremonies," and Bishop Burnet, commenting on the articles, declares "that not only those who penned the articles, but the body of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding these irregularities, acknowledge the foreign Churches so constituted to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church, though they had been irregularly formed and continued still to be in an imperfect state." †

Not only was episcopal government not considered absolutely essential to the existence of a true church, but ministers who had only presbyterial ordination were received into the ministry of the Church of England without re-ordination, and thus was practically recognized the validity of ordination by presbyters.

Keble, High-Churchman though he was, admits in his preface to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (issued about the end of the sixteenth century), that

> nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no bet-

* Burnet on the Articles. See on Art. xxiii.

† Burnet on the XXXIX Articles. See on Art. xxiii.

ter than presbyterian ordination; and it appears . . . that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England.

Dr. Blakeney declares that

In fact, no one of the Church of England in those days thought of calling into question the validity of the orders and sacraments of the Reformed Churches.*

The fifty-fifth canon of 1604 commands that the Anglican clergy should pray for the Church of Scotland, which then was, as it is now, Presbyterian, thus recognizing a Presbyterian body to be a true Church. It is not a little remarkable that the very year this canon was made Laud was reproved by the University of Oxford for maintaining, in his exercise for Bachelor of Divinity, "that there could be no true Church without bishops"; and one ground of the rebuke was, that it "was thought to cast a bone of contention between the Church of England and the Reformed [churches] on the Continent." This was the beginning of the high-church movement. That it afterward prevailed only shows how heresy may at last be classed as orthodoxy, and reveals the importance of steadily guarding against such evils. It was not, however, until 1661, after the restoration of Charles II., that the words "or hath had episcopal consecration or ordination," were added to the Preface to the Ordination Service, so as to make that necessary for one to be a lawful minister in the Church of England; but even this was not intended to deny the validity of other Protestant Churches, for the very next section recognizes "the foreign Reformed Churches." There is some reason for supposing that it did not totally prevent ministers from abroad, with presbyterian ordination, from entering the ministry of the English Church without re-ordination; but, at least, it is plain that up to this time, as Bishop Burnet says, "those who came to England from the foreign Churches had not been required to be ordained among us;" † and Bishop Fleetwood, referring to

* *Book of Common Prayer in its History and Interpretation.* By the Rev. R. P. Blakeney, D.D., LL.D., Incumbent of Christ Church, Claughton. Third ed., London, 1870, p. 630.

† Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i, p. 183.

the Anglican Church, said this was certainly her practice during the reigns of King James and King Charles I. and to the year 1661. "We had many ministers from Scotland, from France, and from the Low Countries, who were ordained by presbyters only, and not bishops, and they were instituted into benefices with cure, . . . and yet were never re-ordained, but only subscribed the articles." *

These facts will be sufficient for our purpose. If the Church of England wants a fraternal union with other Protestant bodies, the short way out of the difficulty is for the Anglican body to go back to the old principles and the old practice which governed the "Protestant Reformed" Church of England from the Reformation down to the Restoration. Here is an honorable basis upon which the Anglican Church can act without any humiliation on its part. All it has to do is to put itself in harmony with the teaching of its present articles and with its good old practice of recognizing the validity of non-episcopal Protestant churches. Then no Church need give up any peculiarity in its polity, and, despite minor differences, there may be honorable recognition and the truest and most intimate union.

On the part of the Protestant Episcopal Church the way is much easier, for it is not trammeled with the regulations of a State Church. Her articles of religion give precisely the same definition of a true Church and ministry as do those of the Church of England, and so she may fall back on these articles and recognize every orthodox Protestant Church. As the article on the Church does not even suggest the necessity of episcopal government, the Protestant Episcopal Church may recognize as Churches those bodies which have a non-episcopal polity; and, as the article on the ministry does not declare the necessity of episcopal ordination, this Church can recognize as true ministers those who have not been episcopally ordained, but have been chosen and sent according to the laws and usages of the Churches to which they belong. Again, the Protestant Episcopal Church may find authority in the article on the "Traditions of the Church," which declares that "it is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike," to recognize other Churches, which, following

* Fleetwood's Works, p. 552, *Judgment of Church of England in case of Lay Baptism*, 1712.

this law of liberty, have changed human rites and ceremonies according to their judgment of their own peculiar needs.

The Protestant Episcopal Church may also fall back upon the declaration in the Preface to the Prayer-Book, which was ratified October 16, 1789. This preface contains a recognition of the other Churches and of the right of difference in ecclesiastical polity. It says:

> When in the course of divine Providence, these American States became independent with respect to civil government, their ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included; and the *different religious denominations* of Christians in these States were left at full and equal liberty to model and organize their *respective Churches*, and forms of worship, and discipline, in such manner as they might judge most convenient for their future prosperity; consistently with the constitution and laws of their country.

Here, then, in maintaining their own right to organize, the fathers of the Protestant Episcopal Church declare the equal right of "the different religious denominations" to do the same, and speak of the other denominations as "Churches." If they were Churches then, they are Churches now; and, as that preface recognized them then, it may be claimed that it recognizes them as Churches now.

The dogma of apostolic succession may, in the minds of some, seem an insuperable difficulty, but such persons should inquire whether the Church, as such, really holds the dogma.

Dr. Phillips Brooks, in his sermon delivered immediately following the General Convention of 1886, boldly denies that apostolic succession, as commonly understood, is a doctrine of his Church. His words are:

> There is no line in our Prayer-Book, there is not a word in any of our formularies, which declares any such theory.

The Rev. Robert A. Edwards, a Protestant Episcopal clergyman of Philadelphia, referring in a sermon to the same matter, says:

> The "historic episcopate" of which the Bishops speak neither implies nor involves the holding to the doctrine of apostolic succession as commonly taught, and which would unchurch all who have not received episcopal ordination.

The Standard of the Cross, a Protestant Episcopal paper of Cleveland, referring to the recent reply of the Connecticut

Congregational Conference to the deliverance of the Protestant Episcopal bishops on the question of Church unity, and replying to the point whether the episcopate is scriptural, says:

> Our Church has never claimed scriptural authority for any theory of the episcopate. She maintains that Scripture and ancient authors together show that there have always been bishops in the Church. . . . But in what that succession consists—what is essential to the making of bishops . . . are matters upon which we have no rule or dogma. No Congregationalist could demand wider liberty of opinion on this point than that exercised by our own scholarly Lightfoot. His theory of the episcopate is accepted and taught, to the present writer's personal knowledge, in the leading Presbyterian seminary in this land, and it is not concealed from the students of our own General Seminary.

It is true that in the Preface to the Ordinal it is declared that there always have been the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, but this is not saying that there must be three orders, or that a body which does not have them is not a Church. It does not necessarily imply that a non-episcopal government is not valid, but may be looked upon merely as a statement of what was believed to be an historical fact, rather than an assertion of the illegality of a ministry which is without three orders. One might believe that there have been three orders simply as a supposed fact of history, and yet disbelieve in their absolute necessity. So the requirement of "episcopal consecration or ordination" might be interpreted as the form of making their own ministers, rather than as denying the validity of ministers differently set apart in other denominations. It may, then, be assumed that there is a way of interpreting the formularies of the Protestant Episcopal Church so that, even as they now stand, this Church need not deny the validity of non-episcopal ordination in non-episcopal bodies.

As the articles recognize the right of each Church to decide as to ceremonies, all that is necessary is to put this recognition of the validity of non-episcopal orders into practice, and admit ministers with non-episcopal orders from other Churches into Protestant Episcopal pulpits, and admit into its ministry without re-ordination such ministers as come duly accredited from other Churches. Let the Protestant Episcopal Church interpret the Preface to the Ordinal as referring simply to those candidates who come up regularly from the ranks of

their laity, and not as applying to full ministers in good standing in other branches of the Church of Christ, and the problem is solved.

An illustration of the idea suggested may be found in the practice of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has two ordinations—that of deacons and that of elders—and all who come up regularly from the ranks of its laity submit to these two ordinations; but a minister of another denomination, where only one ordination is required for the full ministry, is freely admitted into a Methodist Episcopal pulpit, and such a clergyman may be admitted into the Methodist Episcopal ministry without any further ordination. So the Protestant Episcopal Church might be perfectly consistent if, while insisting upon its different ordinations according to its own form for those who come up in the ordinary way from the lay ranks, it took those who were already ministers in other Protestant Churches at the standing they had in the other Churches, admitting them on an equality with its own clergy to its pulpits, and, if satisfactory in other respects, admitting them to its clerical ranks without re-ordination. This would be a practical and practicable solution of the problem. In the same way, notwithstanding they continue to confirm those candidates who come up from their own congregations, yet, as the articles recognize other Churches and the right of Churches to vary in their ceremonies, they might receive members from the other Churches without confirmation, and simply upon the testimonials showing their standing as members in the other Churches; and this, by the way, is the practice in other Churches which have the rite of confirmation. They confirm their own candidates, but receive without confirmation members in good standing in other Churches where confirmation is not used.

The Anglican Churches can easily go back to the fraternal practice which prevailed for a long time after the Reformation in the Church of England, and accept the sentiment of their own Bishop Hall, who said:

> Blessed be God, there is no difference, in any essential point, between the Church of England and her sister Reformed Churches. We unite in every article of Christian doctrine, without the least variation, as the full and absolute agreement between their public confessions and ours testifies. The only difference between

us consists in our mode of constituting the external ministry; and even with respect to this point we are of one mind, because we all profess to believe that it is not an essential of the Church (though in the opinion of many it is a matter of importance to her well-being); and we all retain a respectful and friendly opinion of each other, not seeing any reason why so small a disagreement should produce any alienation of affection among us.*

As Bishop Hall considered that, though the English Church was episcopal and the other Reformed Churches were presbyterial, they did not differ "in any essential point," and that the English Church, as well as the others, agreed that this point on which they differed was "not an essential of the Church," so the Anglican Churches of to-day have it in their power to put the same view into practice, and end any alienation of affection which may exist.

If they fail in convincing the non-episcopal Churches that they should adopt an episcopal government, they may say with Bishop Hall:

> But if a difference of opinion with regard to these points of external order must continue, why may we not be of one heart and of one mind? or, why should this disagreement break the bonds of good brotherhood?†

The responsibility in this movement rests largely with the Protestant Episcopal Church, for the other Protestant Churches are quite willing to fraternize, and it is encouraging that some leading ministers of that Church are ready to have their Church reciprocate the feeling. Its own salvation as a Protestant Reformed Church seems to necessitate closer fraternity with other Protestant Churches. This appears to be realized by certain Low-Churchmen, and in the struggle, now renewed, for the preservation of their body as a Protestant Church and to check the rising tide of Romish ritualism; they should have the warmest sympathy of all other Protestants; and it is to be hoped that steady agitation during the next few years will give them success.

The limits of this article prevent the presentation of many points which are pertinent, but, from what has been said, the way to a brotherly union between the different denominations is plain. What is needed is, that the Protestant Episcopal Church shall come out squarely and recognize in its best

* Bishop Hall's *Irenicum*, published in 1647. † *Ibid.*

sense the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity as applied to the other Protestant Churches: First, the liberty of each Christian Church to decide as to its own polity; second, the equality of the ministers and members of these Churches with its own; and, third, the fraternal interchange with the other Churches. If the Protestant Episcopal Church will do this, there will be fraternal union at once, and this it can do on the basis of its own articles and the ancient practice of the Anglican Church. Other denominations may say, that as far as they are individually concerned they can get along without any such recognition or affiliation, and it must be admitted there is a sense in which this is true. They may say they ask no favors, yet at the same time they should welcome the development and manifestation of a fraternal spirit on the part of all. While they deny any superiority on the part of another branch of the Christian Church, they may sincerely rejoice at a growing spirit of brotherhood; and, while they yield no principle, they should encourage the desire in others for fraternal relations, mutual recognition, and Christian co-operation on the part of all Protestant Churches.

In view of the advances of Romanism, as well as of the teaching of the Head of the Church, it behooves Protestant Churches to recognize their common brotherhood when they agree on the essentials of faith and practice; and to consider agreement on matters of polity as non-essential until they come together, not in organic unity, it may be, but in "the unity of the Spirit," and thus fulfill the prayer of Jesus "that they all may be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one; that the world may know that thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me." John xvii, 21–23 (Rev. Ver.).

Art. IV.—JABEZ BUNTING, D.D.*

This very extraordinary man, who was so distinguished in the annals of Wesleyan Methodism in the parent body, departed this life in 1858. Soon after his demise the first volume of his life was issued, and was read with great interest on both sides of the Atlantic; but, strange to say, the admirers and friends of Dr. Bunting have had to wait more than a quarter of a century for the final volume, which contains the most important events of his life.

Dr. Bunting's son, Percival, the author of these memoirs, was a member of the legal profession, and a man of rare ability, and, notwithstanding the filial relation in which he stood to the departed, has performed his delicate task with great impartiality and fidelity. Being himself an ardent Methodist, and one who has always taken great interest in its affairs, he was thoroughly conversant with the important transactions that occurred during his father's memorable career. Always being of delicate constitution, he performed his labor of love in the midst of great suffering, and before he could reach the end of the work he had undertaken he was called from labor to rest. His friend, the Rev. George S. Rowe, then entered upon the duties of biographer, and to him the Methodist people in both hemispheres are under obligation for finishing a biography for which they have long been anxiously waiting.

Soon after the first volume was issued an article was published, in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for 1860, from the pen of the late Robert A. West. Mr. West was at one time a Methodist in England, and being the son and grandson of a Wesleyan minister he was well acquainted with the workings of Methodism in the mother country. He had long known Dr. Bunting, hence he was well qualified to write an appreciative article respecting the early career, which the first volume portrays, of his eminent friend.

The life of Dr. Bunting as now published will long be a standard in Methodism, and as it contains notices of so vast

* *The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.* With Notices of Cotemporary Persons and Events. By his Son, Thomas Percival Bunting. With additions by Rev. George Stringer Rowe. Vols. I, II. New York: Harper & Brothers.

a number of "cotemporary persons and events" it may be almost designated an encyclopedia. It will certainly be a valuable repertory for all the students of Methodism for many years to come.

A love-feast is held in all the Methodist Societies in England once in three months. To obtain admittance into these love-feasts the members show their tickets to the door-keeper. Such as are not members receive notes of admission from the minister; but the same persons are not usually admitted on more than two or three occasions, unless they become members of the Church. Jabez Bunting was a lad in his teens when Alexander Mather, a strict disciplinarian, became superintendent of the circuit; and as a number of such boys had been accustomed to attend the love-feasts without becoming church members he soon intimated his intention to put a stop to such proceedings. The biographer says:

> The first love-feast after his (Mr. Mather's) arrival saw Jabez Bunting shut out. His mother seized the opportunity to talk with him on spiritual things. Perhaps even she was not then aware of the effect produced upon him by Mr. Benson's preaching. "I do not know what you think of it, Jabez," she said; "but to me it seems an awful thing that after having been carried there (probably she thought of the time when she had carried him to the chapel for Wesley's blessing) you should now be excluded by your own fault." He once said in a meeting of the kind, "Many attribute their conversion to their having attended a love-feast; I owe mine to having been shut out of one."

Jabez Bunting always recognized the Rev. Joseph Benson as his spiritual father, though doubtless the above singular circumstance helped to bring him to a decision respecting religion; it was some time afterward when, "standing on his father's door-step one day, he did embrace and realize the glorious fact of Christ being the propitiation for the sins of mankind, and ventured himself on Christ, and was consciously pardoned and accepted. He 'was set at liberty.' Having 'much forgiven, he loved much.' His heart was 'enlarged, inflamed, and filled' with new and heavenly affections. He was 'turned about' 'from sin to God.' He had a new will and a new command of it; his desires, courses, and pursuits, his entire life—'all things'—became 'new.' This was his conversion."

When Jabez Bunting had attained the age of nineteen he

was made a local preacher. He had already been employed as a prayer leader, and had occasionally given a word of exhortation. All who knew him believed that he possessed gifts such as, if rightly used, might make him an acceptable and useful minister of the Gospel. His educational advantages were not equal to those enjoyed by young people at the present day, but vastly superior to many of his contemporaries. His residence for a few years in the house of Dr. Percival, where he not only pursued medical studies but also acted as amanuensis to that gentleman, afforded him good opportunities to acquire much general knowledge. He was a diligent student, and sought to make the best use possible of the position he now occupied to increase his stock of useful information. The habits he formed were useful to him through life, as he was always accustomed to give himself wholly to any subject which he might wish to master. He was no smatterer, and never did things by halves; but sought to master all the details of every question that excited attention. This, we believe, may be considered as the principal cause of the great influence which he acquired in the Wesleyan Conference. He sought to understand matters thoroughly, and could always give an opinion which was worthy of consideration.

The very first sermon preached by Jabez Bunting gave evidence of having been carefully studied. This remark would apply to all his discourses. Some partial friends who heard him preach the first time declared that this first effort was never excelled during the whole of his subsequent life, which extended over fifty years; but our readers will agree with us that in this instance friendship blinded judgment, though we do not doubt but that the sermon in question was a remarkable production for one who was just "buckling on the armor." It is also true that as a sermonizer Mr. Bunting soon attained great eminence. Most, if not all, of his sermons which have been published were written when he was a comparatively young man and had not completed his probation. The late Rev. W. L. Thornton, who was a man of fine scholarly attainments, in a notice of Dr. Bunting's sermons, which were published in two volumes, said "that it was marvelous that a young divine should so soon have become able to compose such sermons as are to be found in these volumes."

Another reviewer, in writing respecting the same volumes, says:

> There is a certain peculiar dignity in these discourses which is not, though certainly intellectual in its character, that of soaring imagination or recondite thought, but that of a great preacher, mighty in the Scriptures, and inspired with the verity, the majesty, and the solemnity of his commission. There is likewise a beauty of style which is all his own; not that of rhetoric or of fancy, but of a perfect command over the simplest, the fittest, and the most luminous language.

After mentioning one sermon as a fine illustration of the minister's style, and his Scripture quotations, the reviewer continues:

> The rays of light thus collected, the full conception and practical application of the subject, and the clearness and precision of the arrangement, show in this and in other sermons the hand of a master in Israel. We are persuaded that the publication of such discourses will not only honor Dr. Bunting's memory, but, as long as pure taste, earnest piety, and scriptural divinity prevail among us, will perpetuate something of his pulpit power and continue to edify the Church.

As a further proof of the maturity of his talents as a sermonizer, we may state that when he had only been about a dozen years in the ministry he was entreated to publish a sermon which he had preached on "Justification by Faith," of which a reviewer many years afterward said that it was "perhaps the most complete and faultless doctrinal sermon that was ever preached or penned." It became a standard publication, and went through several editions, and we believe it is still one of the books which probationers for the Wesleyan ministry are expected to read. But we must return to our narrative.

As might be expected, a young man who had given such proofs of qualification for the Christian ministry as Jabez Bunting had done, in the short space of one year that he filled the office of local preacher, was sure to be called by the Church to turn aside from secular pursuits and give himself wholly to the ministry of the word. Accordingly, in 1799, he obeyed the "call," and went to his first circuit, which was Oldham, near Manchester, to which he traveled in true Methodist style, with a pair of saddle-bags hung over his shoulder, which contained his wearing apparel and library. His whole stock of sermons consisted of fourteen skeletons.

The circuit, though not deserving the name of "Hard-scrabble," was extensive, and afforded abundant labor for himself and his colleague. It was what might be termed "a six weeks' circuit," as it took this length of time to preach in every place. He remained here two years, and became so popular that his services were often sought after for occasional services, and more than one circuit memorialized the Conference to secure his appointment. But he always left his appointment in the hands of those to whom it legitimately belonged.

While on this his first circuit, though only in his novitiate, he gave evidence of that independence of mind and thorough acquaintance with Methodist law for which he was always distinguished. A question was mooted in the quarterly meeting during the discussion of which it was thought that the ministers should retire, as they had usually done when such cases were being discussed; but the young man soon intimated that he would not obey their wishes, as the custom in question had no authority in Methodist law. The resolute manner in which he "stood by his order" startled some of the lay brethren, and one at least could not restrain his anger as he declared that "a good rule had that day been set aside to please that proud son of Adam, Jabez Bunting."

Young Bunting's first superintendent, the Rev. John Gaulter, was always proud of "his young man," and as his term on Oldham Circuit expired at the close of Mr. Bunting's first year he wrote to him frequently after they ceased to be colleagues. Mr. Gaulter was a humble, holy man. In one of his letters he tells Mr. Bunting of having received a letter from Dr. Coke, who was then in America, the contents of which surprised him. He says:

> The doctor brings strange things to my ears. A Methodist preacher of the name of Lyall (so his name is spelled in the American Minutes) is chosen the chaplain of the Congress. The doctor's own words are, "Brother Lyall, one of our elders, has been elected lately chaplain of the Congress by a great majority. He preaches in the Congress Hall, in Washington, on Sundays." What a rise from obscurity to notice, from contempt to honor! The good doctor is flushed with delight, and it certainly forms an epoch in the history of Methodism. Perhaps I may yet live to see my friend Bunting a doctor, and chaplain to an imperial Parliament. My prayer shall ever be, "Give us not honor without grace."

Mr. Bunting did become a doctor, but he never became chaplain to an imperial Parliament. Methodist ministers do not receive such honors in England. Had Mr. Gaulter lived eighty years after the date of his letter to his friend Bunting how would he have been overwhelmed with surprise to have seen the honors which the sons of Methodism receive in the western world! All our readers will, we are sure, join us in saying Amen to the good man's prayer for Methodism: "Give us not honor without grace."

The years of Mr. Bunting's probation were spent in two circuits, in both of which he made full proof of his ministry. He was then received into full connection by the Conference, with twenty-nine others, one of whom was the peerless orator of his day, Robert Newton, with whom Jabez Bunting then formed an acquaintance. They were ever afterward warm friends, and no two ministers were better known in Wesleyan Methodism than they. Their rare talents, though greatly differing, eminently qualified them for the positions which they filled in the Church of their choice.

Notwithstanding the qualifications which young Bunting possessed, he was more than once the subject of intense anxiety, being afraid that he had entered upon a work for which he was not duly qualified. One evening, when attending a week-night appointment in Oldham Circuit, he sat up until a late hour and held a conversation with the goodman of the house, during which he expressed his fears that "he should not be able to find materials to hold out even for six months." The next day he remained in his room from morning until night, wrestling with God in prayer that he might know the divine will, during which he did not take his accustomed meals. Our readers will agree with us in the opinion that Jabez Bunting, who was just now buckling on his Christian armor, took the right course to settle the question of his call to the ministry.

He soon attained to eminence as a faithful minister of the Gospel, and, while he was a diligent student of theology and did not confine himself to one class of authors, it will be readily supposed that Arminian writers were his favorites. He was emphatically Methodistic in his theological creed. He once told a friend of the present writer that "he had read one of the Rev. John Wesley's sermons daily during the preceding

thirty years." Jabez Bunting also embraced every opportunity to hear other ministers preach. This was particularly the case when he was stationed in London the first time, and during the first years of his ministry, when religious services were not held in Methodist places of worship during "church hours." The term of his probation, which extended to four years, was very laborious. Besides giving close attention to his studies he "preached no less than thirteen hundred and forty-eight times, and at the end of the second year had nearly a hundred sermons ready for use as he might require them."

Jabez Bunting made free use of the pen when pursuing his studies. His biographer says:

> He carefully copied and preserved skeletons and sketches of sermons. He extracted from his general reading every thing that could suggest topics or materials for public discourse. He tried his hand in amending other men's compositions. His own preparations were full and elaborate, and were subjected to continual revision.

The sermons which he composed during his novitiate were used to a greater or lesser extent during his entire ministry, with but few emendations or additions. This proves how early he attained to maturity.

In the delivery of his sermons Dr. Bunting was very powerful. A friend whose circuit he had recently visited wrote him saying:

> I shall never cease to be thankful for the visit you paid us last August, and others besides myself have cause to remember it. The sermon you preached at Newcastle was blessed to many. A man who lives in a neighboring village, who was much inclined to drunkenness and deism, was convinced of sin that morning. In attempting to give me an account of the sermon, and of its effect upon him, he said, "O, what a *sarment* that was! Every word cut." Since then he has joined the Society and has preaching in his house. Several of his neighbors are awakened, and I hope much good will be done.

Bunting's biography contains many other instances of the power of his preaching.

During the period of his active ministry his labors were confined to the principal towns of England, where the congregations were invariably very large. Once he and his friend, Robert Newton, were colleagues in the same circuit. Their

residences were in close proximity, and there was seldom a day when they were both at home that they did not meet at either house. They were truly of one heart, and were knit together like David and Jonathan. Their wives were as much attached to each other as their husbands, and when together they often spoke in a friendly way respecting their talents. On one of these occasions Mrs. Bunting said to Mrs. Newton, "Your husband at times preaches very great sermons, but my husband never preaches a little one."

When stationed in Sheffield, James Montgomery, the Christian poet, whose compositions are still used in many Churches, was accustomed to hear him, and ever afterward he embraced every opportunity to sit under his ministry. In writing to the biographer he thus gives an estimate of the general character of Dr. Bunting's preaching:

> He is a great man; he delivers the most important scriptural truths in such a way as to make them appear plain and familiar; so much so, indeed, that some of his intelligent hearers are occasionally almost tempted to believe they could themselves do what he does with so much apparent ease; yet they are very much mistaken; for that very simplicity of language, which involves so much fullness and fitness of thought, shows also how perfectly the preacher has attained that "art to conceal art," which is the result of successful study. I heard him constantly when he was stationed at Sheffield several years since, and still remember many of his sermons.

Robert Hall once listened to one of his luminous and logical sermons, and described it as "a limpid stream of classic eloquence." When the Evangelical Alliance was formed, in which Dr. Bunting took an active part, Norman Macleod, in speaking of the founders of the Alliance, spoke of Bunting as "a noble man." Dr. Chalmers, on the same occasion, after spending an hour with him, said, "I have had a most exquisite interview with one of the best and wisest of men."

Dr. Leifchild, who was for many years a popular Congregational minister in London, says of Jabez Bunting when stationed in the metropolis: "I followed him from place to place. None that I had ever heard equaled him as a whole." Leifchild was then a young man and a Wesleyan local preacher, and this estimate of his beloved friend was written many years afterward.

One important feature in Dr. Bunting's career was his power in prayer. One who knew him well thus describes this important trait of his ministry:

> We have heard many highly gifted men engage in this hallowed exercise, but we must confess that in him there has been a nearer approach to heaven, a mightier struggle with the Angel of the Covenant, a firmer hold on the horns of the altar, a stronger suggestion of God and man holding converse with each other as face to face, than in any other person, except Bramwell, that ever came under our notice. This is by no means a common occurrence. But, O, we have known seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord—seasons in which heaven has been open to earth—when a divine power has been felt—when an audience, through the intervention of his intercessory prayer, seemed only to have to ask in order to receive, and all in the congregation have been ready to exclaim in the language of the patriarch, "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven;" leaving the spot as though they had come from a visit to the world of spirits, and were entering upon a fuller preparation for their final departure from the present.

A scene which occurred at an ordination service in connection with the Wesleyan Conference is thus described by the Rev. Joseph Entwisle:

> Thirty-six young men as probationers were admitted into the full work of the ministry. Mr. Bunting prayed with uncommon unction; it seemed as if heaven was opened. It was a time much to be remembered. God was remarkably present; my soul was melted before the Lord. Glory be to God!

When the Rev. James Calvert, of Fiji, returned to England after his first term of missionary labor in that land of cannibals, he attended the Conference for the first time, when Dr. Bunting prayed at a service similar to that described by Mr. Entwisle, and when writing to a friend respecting the occasion he said, "Dr. Bunting's prayer was agony."

From an early period of his ministry his gift in prayer was extraordinary. When his eldest son was born the father was from home, and on his return, when informed of what had taken place,

> He fell on his knees and poured forth one of those prayers for which he was so remarkable, imploring, in particular, that, if God should so will, the child might become a Methodist preacher. The first fond wish of his fatherly heart was not denied to him.

Such was the esteem in which Dr. Bunting was held by the majority of the members of the Wesleyan Conference that he was placed in positions of great influence, first as secretary of Conference, then as its president, which position he occupied four times; an honor awarded to no other member of Conference so often except to his friend Robert Newton. He was also editor of the *Magazine*, and afterward missionary secretary. He was one of the original founders of the Missionary Society, which was formed in 1813, when Dr. Coke and his heroic band went from England to establish Wesleyan Missions in India. The end of that father of Methodist missions, who was the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is well known. Probably to no other man except Dr. Coke are Wesleyan missions so much indebted as to Dr. Bunting. In connection with his friend Richard Watson he drew up the constitution of the Missionary Society and the code of rules for the guidance of missionaries. His skill in managing difficult cases which sometimes arose, both at home and abroad, was of great service. Occasionally he had to act as a diplomatist in his intercourse with the civil authorities, and those with whom he was thus brought in contact were not slow to acknowledge his superior talents.

In 1839, which was the centenary year of Wesleyan Methodism, a series of services was held in every part of the Methodistic world. Those held under the auspices of the Wesleyan Conference in England were largely controlled and directed by Dr. Bunting. The series of resolutions adopted at the inaugural meeting, which consisted of an equal number of ministers and laymen, were drawn up by him, and were adopted with but little alteration. It had been estimated that the thank-offerings of the people of Great Britain and Ireland would probably amount to four hundred thousand dollars; but instead of this, the sum of more than ten hundred thousand dollars was contributed, all of which was expended on behalf of missions, ministerial education, reduction of debts on places of worship, and the fund established for the benefit of superannuated ministers. When the amount contributed became known both the friends and foes of Wesleyan Methodism were astonished, and the Rev. Thomas Jackson, who was president of the Conference during the centenary year, declared that so

large a sum of money had never before been contributed by any branch of the Christian Church since the time when David and the children of Israel contributed so munificently to the erection of the temple at Jerusalem.

It has been a matter of wonder to many that Dr. Bunting did not give himself more to authorship, as with the exception of his sermon on "Justification by Faith," and the sermons of his spiritual father, the Rev. Joseph Benson, which he edited, it is not known that he ever prepared any works for publication. Of course we do not include the magazines and the Minutes of Conference which were published during the years that he was connectional editor, when he also revised Cruden's Concordance. He was often importuned to engage in literary work, and at one period of his life he entered into negotiations with the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne to assist him with his great work entitled *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Holy Scriptures*, but he felt obliged to relinquish all literary work, saying, "The die is cast. If I give to our missions the attention which they require I shall not have any time hereafter for literature."

On another occasion he said to a friend, "My attention has been so much engrossed with Methodist politics and the concerns of the Connection that I have had but little time for other pursuits." No doubt all who knew Dr. Bunting would readily assent to the truth of this remark, and, whatever views may be entertained respecting his policy, it is nevertheless creditable to him that, having sacrificed the prospect of a lucrative profession in Manchester to become a Methodist minister, he gave himself so wholly to the active work of Methodism that he had no time for any thing else.

Jabez Bunting was sometimes declared to have been "a man of war" from his youth. At other times he was stigmatized as the "great Jabez." Great men often have to endure merciless criticism, and are the subjects of much misrepresentation and slander. It would be difficult to mention the name of any public man in modern times who received a greater share of obloquy than fell to his lot. It was marvelous how he could hold on his way in the midst of so many opposing influences.

The first case of controversy in which he was involved was

concerning the Sunday-schools at Sheffield. It had been the custom for many years to teach the children to write on the Lord's day. Those connected with the management of the schools were disposed to be very exclusive in their government, and, as far as they could do so, they would not admit ministers into their councils. The circuit ministers had often deplored this state of things, but they seemed to be powerless, until Jabez Bunting took the matter in hand. He first of all contended for the sacredness of the Lord's day, and recommended that an evening in the week should be set apart to teach the children writing; but the teachers refused to change their course. He was necessitated to avail himself of the aid of the church courts; and finally the matter was referred to Conference, when rules and regulations were adopted for the management of the Wesleyan Sunday-schools. Those opposed to the course of Dr. Bunting wrote several pamphlets in which they denounced him as an ecclesiastical despot, and made the Sunday-school question a pretext to agitate for changes in the Methodist Discipline which, up to that time, had never been heard of. The result was, that some of the chief agitators were brought to trial and expelled from the Church.

Some were now pleased to assert that the minister in question was grasping for power, and that he was an enemy to the liberties of the people. Here we must aver that we think his accusers charged him wrongfully, for about this time a second school for the education of ministers' sons was established, and, on his recommendation, the Conference appointed a mixed committee, consisting of an equal number of ministers and laymen, to secure a site and to superintend the erection. This was a new thing in Methodism. There had never been such a committee before, and some of the leading ministers were afraid of the innovation; but, as one has said, "No man ever undertook greater things in Methodism than he has done, yet he has undertaken nothing in which he has not succeeded;" so in the case of "mixed committees," he believed the principle to be a sound one, and he acted upon it through life, especially where finances were concerned. It might be said that the lay-gentlemen selected to act on "mixed committees" were not chosen by the people, but by the Conference. This witness is true; but then it will certainly be admitted that the ministers were

best acquainted with the laymen throughout the Connection, and could therefore make the best selection. Besides, the selection of laymen for the purposes named was an experiment, and if it had not been successful, why was not another mode of election provided?

In the year 1827 there was an agitation in Leeds respecting the introduction of an organ into one of the Methodist churches of that town. It may be observed that the Conference of 1796 had decided that no such instruments should be used in Methodist churches without the approval of the Conference; the fathers of Methodism were jealous lest any thing should spoil the service of song which was such a powerful auxiliary in their mode of worship.

At Leeds the trustees were anxious to erect an organ, as they believed it would be a great help, rather than a hinderance, to the devotions of the congregation. Methodism was a powerful organization in Leeds: several of the leading men were persons of great influence in their respective spheres of life. A goodly number of the local preachers and class-leaders, to say nothing of the ministers and private members, were opposed to the action of the trustees, and now began an agitation which continued for years, in which the ministers who were concerned were held up to public derision; they were denounced as "tyrants," "faithless," "mercenary," "promoters" of a "tyranny of the worst and most alarming character." It was recommended that they should be "starved" into compliance with the wishes and views of their opponents.

When the Conference took action on this unhappy case there was an earnest wish to heal the breach, and, to secure this, the president for the time being, and several other ministers, were sent to Leeds to confer with the dissentients. Dr. Bunting was one of the number sent, but he was soon "spoken of as the master and ruler of the Conference," which they declared he "had quite enslaved." This was surely a marvelous testimony, for he had only been a member of the legal Conference about ten years, and he was associated with such venerable men as Benson, Moore, Adam Clarke, Entwisle, Stephens, and others who were the "giants" of Methodism in those days.

All the attempts made by the Conference delegation to effect a reconciliation, and restore peace to the churches in Leeds,

were in vain. Those opposed to the introduction of the organ were like some others who have disturbed the peace of the churches—they claimed the right to demand changes in the Discipline of the Church which some at least regarded as unnecessary. Attempts were made to draw the officials of other circuits into the agitation, and thereby make the rent in Methodism worse than it would be if confined to Leeds.

For the sake of restoring peace some of the leading dissentients were brought to trial, and expelled as disturbers of the harmony of the Church. Those who sympathized with them withdrew and formed themselves into another denomination, known as the Protestant Methodists. Hundreds of pious persons were induced by the spirit of faction to leave the Church through whose instrumentality they had been rescued from sin. No one would suppose that those who had taken up arms against the introduction of an organ into a Wesleyan church would be so inconsistent as to introduce one into a church of their own, and yet they did so at a very early period of their history. It is but due to the memory of Dr. Bunting to state in this connection that he was originally opposed to the introduction of musical instruments into places of worship; he designated them as "abominations;" and was especially opposed to organs on the ground of expense. On his recommendation the Conference ordered that no such instruments should be introduced where debts would be thereby incurred. Further legislation was also adopted regulating the erection of church edifices, with a view to lessen the burdens of the people as much as possible. As the trustees at Leeds acted on these regulations he contended that they had a right to erect an organ in their church.

In the year 1833 England was greatly agitated on various political questions, during which the temporalities of the Established Church were often referred to, and a distinguished nobleman in the House of Lords warned the bench of bishops "to set their house in order." An Anti-State-Church Society was formed, with its headquarters in London, and branches were organized in various provincial towns. Ministers and laymen of the dissenting bodies joined the said society in great numbers. The Wesleyan Methodists generally stood aloof. Probably this arose from the fact that most of the leaders of Methodism were conservative in their political opinions, and were

friendly to the Established Church, as Mr. Wesley was to the end of his days.

A popular young minister, the son of one who a few years before was president of the Conference, saw fit to connect himself with the Anti-State-Church Association. He spoke at some of its meetings, and even became secretary of one of the provincial branches. As a matter of course he was brought to trial, as he had violated some of the laws of the body. This he did not attempt to deny, but insisted that he had acted conscientiously in what he had done. At the trial he was asked to sever his connection with the said society, as by refusing to do so he was compromising the denomination of which his father and himself were honored ministers. He refused, and was therefore suspended until Conference, and as he insisted that he still had a right to preach, though suspended, he was informed by the president of Conference that "he would be regarded as being guilty of contumacy."

The suspension of the Rev. Joseph Rayner Stephens was the occasion of great agitation in Ashton-under-Lyne, where he was stationed, and in Lancashire generally, where political reformers were numerous. Many rallied around him, and refused to hear those whom they believed to be opposed to their favorite minister, and were severe in their denunciations of Robert Newton and Jabez Bunting; especially the latter, because they regarded him as the "ruler" of the president, which office Newton filled when Stephens was suspended.

At the Conference the case was again considered, and was the occasion of a lengthy discussion. Dr. George Smith, in his *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, refers at great length to the proceedings of the Conference on the case. Some of the views expressed by members of the Conference would excite the surprise of many of our readers. The offender was assured that if he would withdraw from the objectionable society, and cease all agitation, he should at once be restored to the confidence of his brethren. Some proposed a milder course, but they were in the minority. The venerable Henry Moore "warned the Conference to beware of men with whims; some had the whim of conscience, some the whim of honor—'by men called honor, but by angels pride.'" Theophilus Lessey "thought the preachers should be more united, they must sub-

mit to the decisions of the district meeting." Dr. Beaumont said, he was altogether a Methodist, and thought the district meeting had done its duty, and that Stephens should have submitted. But he added:

> Wesley's bearing toward the Church was like that of a rower in a boat; his face was always steadily fixed on the Church, but every stroke of his oars took him farther away from it. He objected to be tacked in any way to the Church of England.

Mr. Stephens asked time to consider what he should do. His request was granted, and next day he intimated that he could not comply with the wish of the Conference, and would therefore retire from the Methodist ministry. He did so. Many of his former friends rallied around him, and he became their minister. He preached in Ashton for several years, and took an active part in laboring on behalf of the society before mentioned, but always maintained a friendly feeling for the Wesleyans.

Our readers, we think, will agree with us in the opinion that the Wesleyan Conference should not have come to such a decision as they did in the case of Mr. Stephens. We feel certain that such a course would not be pursued at the present day. A few years ago the Rev. John Bond spoke at a meeting of the Liberation Society in London, and though he did so against the remonstrance of the president, the late Dr. Punshon, yet we are not aware that he received even a censure at the ensuing Conference. Many Dissenters regard the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in England as the strongest supporter of the Established Church, and no doubt they are right. So long as Methodism maintains its present attitude the day of disestablishment is at a great distance, but it will not always do so. The rising ministry of Methodism are not disposed to bear the intolerance of "the clergy" as their fathers were wont to do. Since the death of Dr. Bunting another spirit seems to animate the Wesleyan Conference.

Hardly had the noise of battle been hushed when a still more furious war was proclaimed. For many years Dr. Bunting and those who agreed with him had been desirous to adopt some means whereby the rising ministry could have the advantages of a theological education. Some of the fathers who then survived condemned the proposal. In 1808, Adam

Clarke was favorable to the project, but Bradburn said "it was a grand trick of the devil."

After more than a quarter of a century had passed away the idea of a collegiate institution became more generally entertained. It was not anticipated that there would be strong opposition against the project, but those who were of this opinion were soon convinced of their error. Dr. Warren, who was a minister of considerable ability, became the leader of the oppositionists, though at first he zealously advocated the formation of the institution. Some thought he was disappointed in not being nominated for the position of theological tutor, and his jealousy of and opposition to Dr. Bunting was great. When the matter was discussed in Conference Dr. Warren took advantage of his position, and made several attacks on Dr. Bunting instead of speaking to the motion recommending that a theological institution should be established, which motion ultimately prevailed.

This was a wise decision, but we think that the committee which was appointed to complete the details committed an egregious blunder in insisting that Dr. Bunting should be the president of the institution. He was worthy of the honor and had eloquently pleaded for the institution, but it was well known that there was a strong feeling of opposition against him, and the poorer members especially regarded his plans with suspicion. The Doctor himself did not desire the appointment, and is reported to have said "that he would not accept the office unless the preachers should insist on it, with the threat of expulsion if he did not consent." Compelling Dr. Bunting to accept the office was an unwise policy, as it gave Dr. Warren and his friends strong reasons, as they conceived, for agitation.

Dr. Warren and his associates became violent, and soon a pamphlet was issued attacking the course pursued by the Conference, and denouncing the institution in the most severe terms. A course of agitation was entered upon which no private remonstrance nor any other means could suppress. Dr. Warren was told what his brethren would be compelled to do unless he refrained from the course of agitation on which he had entered; but he was resolute, and, consequently, he was brought to trial and suspended from ministerial functions until Conference. But nothing could deter him; he even appealed

to the civil courts, the court of chancery, etc., from which he obtained no redress, and at the following Conference he was expelled from the Connection.

But few members of the Conference sympathized with Dr. Warren, and we do not know that one approved of his agitating course. After his expulsion a goodly number of people in various parts of the Connection professed to espouse his cause, but, like other agitators who had preceded them, they showed their animus in demanding changes in Methodism which accorded with their views, and accompanied those demands with threats to "stop the supplies." The result was that another division took place in Methodism, which left the parent body somewhat reduced in numbers; but, for a few years at least, there was peace, and the Connection pursued a more vigorous course of missionary labor abroad and church consolidation at home. The very year in which Dr. Warren was expelled the mission at Fiji was begun, the grandeur of which, we opine, has never been surpassed in the annals of the Christian Church. Dr. Warren did not continue long with the agitators, but sought episcopal ordination, and became a minister of a small parish in Manchester called "All Souls." Owing to the small congregation to which he ministered, a waggish writer said "he did not know how many souls there were, but he felt certain there were not many bodies."

The *Fly Sheet* controversy was the most disastrous that ever occurred in Wesleyan Methodism. The centenary services which had just been held had given Methodism a position such as it never had before. No doubt those services resulted in increasing Dr. Bunting's power and influence in the body. Those who did not approve of his policy became restive, and doubtless were envious of the favors which they believed were conferred on those who seemed to be the special friends of the doctor. The historian of Methodism, Dr. Smith, is of the opinion that the Conference was too desirous to concentrate official authority and responsibility in his hands, and as he was always a true friend many were greatly attached to him; and while, doubtless, their motives might be pure, there can be no doubt but that others who surrounded him were "self-interested followers as well as friends." The Conference acted unwisely in the course it pursued toward Dr. Bunting. Had the honors at its

disposal been distributed more widely, we believe that the sad disasters of 1849 would not have occurred.

The *Fly Sheets* professed to expose abuses which then existed in the Wesleyan Church. The writers withheld their names. The sheets at first were sent by mail to the ministers only, and for a few years they produced effects which were fearful. However much truth they might contain, the rancor and personal abuse of which they were full to overflowing were shocking. Other sheets were published, professedly in vindication of Methodism, which were as full of bitterness and acrimony as the *Fly Sheets* themselves. The Conference was now divided into two parties, and for some years each party tried to elect one of its friends to the presidential chair. At one Conference, when the successful candidate was known to be an opponent to Dr. Bunting, that gentleman said, as he took the chair, "You are the leader of a faction."

It is not necessary to enter here into the details of this sad contest, but only to state that after the expulsion of the alleged authors of the *Fly Sheets*, it resulted in the severance of about 100,000 members from the parent body, some of whom united with other denominations, but the majority, with two of the expelled ministers, joined the dissentients of 1835, and the denomination is now known as the "United Methodist Free Church."

Dr. Bunting was justly regarded as the leader of the party in the Conference which discountenanced every recommendation which it was thought would lessen the influence of those in power. In politics, no doubt, he and many others in the Conference would be called Liberal Conservatives, and of course they could not sanction any thing which professed to be "reform." He possessed marvelous influence, and was the "master mind" of the Methodist Church. He had a kind heart, and never forgot his friends. Ministers and influential laymen of other communities held him in high esteem. As previously stated, he was one of the first members of the Evangelical Alliance, and was on friendly terms with other branches of Methodism, and occasionally occupied their pulpits. When the infirmities of age crept upon him his friends subscribed a fund of about forty thousand dollars, out of which Dr. Newton and himself were paid life annuities of one thousand dollars

each, which at their decease reverted to the Missionary Society.

We ask, then, in view of the influence which Dr. Bunting wielded for so many years in the Wesleyan Conference, could he not have used that influence to prevent the expulsion of ministers who were as truly called of God to preach the Gospel as he was? No charge of immorality was ever preferred against them, and not even a suspicion of moral delinquency ever tarnished their reputation. We do not defend anonymous slanderers, and seldom read any letters which are published without the signature of their writers; but Dr. Bunting could not but know that some of those concerning whom the *Fly Sheet* writers wrote were not men of "clean hands." The man whose immense influence enabled him to effect such great changes in the legislation of Methodism, by the formation of mixed committees and other conference acts, could have utilized the suggestions of the *Fly Sheet* writers, and could have provided for a mixed conference, as has since been done, and his name would have shone with still greater luster in the page of Methodist history. We revere his memory, and doubt if there will ever be another man in Wesleyan Methodism who will possess the influence which was wielded by Jabez Bunting. Peace be to his ashes! He sleeps in City Road burying-ground, near the graves of John Wesley, Adam Clarke, Joseph Benson, and other fathers of Methodism.*

* In preparing this paper the writer has referred to a number of volumes written by various Methodist authors, but is especially indebted to the *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, by George Smith, LL.D.

Art. V.—EPISCOPAL FUNCTIONS IN METHODISM.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss principles, not men. The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have usually been selected for their high office from the ranks of the abler ministry of the denomination. From Thomas Coke to the last elected they have been good men. Personally they merit that high consideration which is almost universally accorded them; by their pure lives, by their wise and paternal administration in office, they have honored the Church which has honored them. In discussing, then, the assigned functions of the episcopal office the personality of the incumbents of this office is not a factor to be considered. The remembrance of this fact is essential to an unbiased study of the question before us.

While the practical plea of this paper is for some modification of the law of the Church concerning the functions of the bishops, it should also be clearly borne in mind by the reader that the writer aims his strictures at the letter of the law rather than at the spirit in which the law has usually been administered. The world has probably never witnessed a more conscientious or brotherly wielding of authority than that which, as a rule, has been exhibited by Methodist bishops. The necessity for a modification of the law grows out of reasons that can in no way cast discredit upon either the spirit or wisdom of these chief officers in the Church.

The plan of this paper will be as follows:

I. To state, and to characterize in some measure, some of the functions of the episcopal office.

II. To present reasons which call for some modification of these functions.

III. To advocate a plan which, in the judgment of the writer, will meet the necessities of the case, and greatly serve the interests of the Church.

I. An unwritten qualification of Methodist bishops is, that they must be great preachers. This demand is not unreasonable. There is no class of men who have such exceptional opportunities for making themselves felt on great occasions. Their pulpit lightning does not often strike twice in the same place, but they preach to great and representative congregations. They

preach before the Annual Conferences, their services are solicited for the great camp-meetings, they are in demand for dedication occasions and for college commencements. The very position of these chief pastors carries with it the requirement that its incumbents should show themselves masters and models in the pulpit. If there is any man whose commission would liken him to the angel of the Apocalypse, flying between the heavens and the earth with the everlasting Gospel, that man is a Methodist bishop; and when he drops down from his flight to preside at an Annual Conference it will be perfectly appropriate if his sermon to the ministers shall be like a trumpet call from the upper world.

The labors of the pastors are confined to limited fields. These workers toil on through the year, rarely hearing other sermons than their own. It is a great thing for these men, coming up to their Annual Conference, to hear from their bishop a sermon that shall broaden their views, quicken their faith, and inspire them with a larger heroism for the work to which he in a few days will send them forth again. The benefits to the younger ministers of great inspirations thus imparted can hardly be overestimated. The writer, when a student in Wesleyan University, was privileged to hear a sermon before the New York East Conference by Bishop Edward Thomson. There was a saintly power in that sermon which thrilled his very soul, and its influence, like a blessed spell, lingers in his memory to this hour. The Church, as by an intuition, expects great things of its bishops in the pulpit. The fitness of this expectation was somewhat characteristically expressed by a Western layman at the last General Conference. When asked why he was so interested to secure the election of a certain man he said: "I go for him because he is a great preacher. I don't believe in any man for the bishopric who can't preach. When I invite a bishop to my town I expect him to preach so that the whole place will be Methodist for at least the next twelve months."

If, now, we turn to look specifically at the disciplinary demands laid upon the episcopal office we shall find them nothing less than formidable, as the following enumerated but incomplete list will serve to show:

1. The bishops *ex officio* are presiding officers of nearly all

the great conventions—legislative, judicial, and for business purposes—in the Church.

2. Every bishop ought to be an expert in the rules and regulations of the Church. It is a part of his duty to decide all questions of law that may arise in the proceedings of an Annual Conference, and also to give rulings as a judge in Conferences assembled for judicial trial.

3. It is made the duty of the bishops to travel throughout the Connection, and to oversee all the temporal and spiritual interests of the Church. When we study the census of the Church, and find that it now numbers two millions of living members — when we take up the map of our connection and discover that it embraces all the grand divisions of the globe—then, surely, it would seem that this traveling throughout the Connection, and the superintendence of all the temporal and spiritual interests of this world-embracing Church, would often wring from these men, burdened in spirit and weary in brain, the expression of St. Paul, "Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon [us] daily, the care of all the Churches;" and force them to ask, with him, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

4. The bishops cannot properly discharge the functions assigned to them unless they are themselves men of broad, sound, and discriminating scholarship. It is certainly essential that they should be masters in the science of theology. It would be difficult to overstate the responsibility attaching to their office by reason of one duty assigned to that office. It is made the duty of the bishops to prescribe courses of reading and study for all candidates for the ministry of the Church; also to prescribe a course of reading and of study proper to be pursued in a four years' course by all who come into the Annual Conferences; and likewise to prescribe a similar course for all the local preachers of the denomination.

To supply the great and rapidly growing work of the Church requires about twelve thousand regular ministers, besides an army of local preachers. The successors of these numerous workers are constantly coming into the field. These thousands of men are to become public teachers. They are to be set in high places as defenders of the truth and as guides of thought at a time when creeds are challenged and faith is assailed as

never before. The age in which they are to do their work is one characterized by the most daring and searching criticisms of the Bible; an age when the brilliant discoveries of science are calling for readjustments of accepted truth; an age when the agitation of great economic questions, and the fierce conflicts between labor and capital, demand the demonstration, if such demonstration is possible, that the Christian religion carries with it the practical philosophy which, if applied, will most certainly calm the agitations of society, while at the same time it will secure the highest weal, enlightenment, and happiness of all men. This age, as never any other, calls for a Christian ministry prayerful, alert, loyal, enlightened, mighty. The young men that are now coming into the ranks of the Methodist itinerancy ought to leap into their places with the purpose of leadership; they need to be full-orbed and full-panoplied.

But these men themselves will be largely shaped by their courses of reading and study. The Church knows this, and it is a marked evidence of the almost unlimited confidence which the Church reposes in its bishops, that it assigns to them solely the duty of prescribing those courses of reading and of study which shall form the church curriculum for ministerial training. If for so important a purpose as this a carefully selected commission of the leading college and theological professors of the Church had been appointed to act conjointly with the bishops, it would seem at least to be a fitting arrangement. But so far as the letter of the requirement is concerned, the chairs of the colleges and theological schools are not consulted; the Church has chosen to place this grave and delicate responsibility entirely with the bishops. Infallibility is not predicated of Methodist bishops; but certainly this duty, which the Church requires at their hands, demands from them knowledge and wisdom as well-nigh perfect as can be found in any men upon the face of the earth.

5. It is made the duty of the bishops to fix the time for holding the Annual Conferences. The propriety of their having a decisive voice as to the time at which a Conference shall hold its session appears when it is remembered that the bishops are the presiding officers, and that the schedule of the Conference sessions must be so arranged as to permit these officers to pass from one Conference to another.

So far as the letter of the law is concerned, the bishops have absolute authority to decide the time for holding the sessions of the Annual Conferences, subject only to one limitation—they must permit an Annual Conference, if it so choose, to remain in session at least one week. That this authority is great is a fact of which the older Conferences have been slightly reminded, in the last few years, by the decision of the bishops to call their sessions one day later in the week than was formerly the custom.

6. Another very important function of the bishop is seen in his relation to the formation of districts. It is made his duty "to form the districts according to his judgment." It is natural to ask, Wherein does the fitness of this arrangement appear? The territory of the Church is divided into hundreds of presiding elders' districts. The formation of these districts as to size, plan, location, the number and the contiguity of churches which they include, involves vast consequences of toil and of travel to the presiding elders, and, it may be, matters of great spiritual and financial moment to the churches. No man who is so short a time in one place, and who travels so widely over the world as does a Methodist bishop, can reasonably be supposed to be so thoroughly acquainted with the geography of an Annual Conference, so intimately acquainted with the location of its churches, as to give him special qualification for the mapping or remapping of that Conference into districts. Probably the bishops do not average, in course of the year, more than a two-weeks' stay in the territory of each Conference over which they preside, except when they preside over a Conference in the bounds of which they have their residence. This being true, it is probable that in nearly every Conference there are at least a score of men whose judgment as to what ought to be done will be as good as that of the presiding bishop, while their intimate knowledge of the situation gives them, had they the authority, unquestionably superior advantages for making a wise arrangement of districts. If it should be said that the bishop never relies on his own unaided judgment in the formation of the districts, this may, as a general statement, be true. But, however much advisory help the bishop may need or have, the fact still remains that legally the authority to form the districts remains solely with him. Not a presiding elder, a preacher, a church, or all the churches on the district—all of whose interests are involved

—can assert a legal right to modify in any respect the bishop's decision.

This authority which the Church has committed to its bishops, of mapping out a great connection into districts that shall be shaped according to their own decision, is still another emphatic proof of the vast authority which the economy of Methodism legally lodges in the episcopal officer.

7. But the overtopping fact of interest in the episcopal office is, the authority of appointment conferred upon its incumbents. With the bishops resides the absolute authority to appoint to their stations all the presiding elders and the conference preachers in the Connection. The power to appoint the presiding elders and the preachers is, in both cases, the same; but, for convenience of discussion, we will consider somewhat separately the significance of this power in its relation to these two classes of workers.

The bishops appoint all the presiding elders. Whether this function is great or small, momentous or insignificant, depends almost entirely upon the uses which are made of the presiding eldership in the Church. What are the presiding elders for? To the presiding elder many and important duties are assigned. He is the bishop's lieutenant, and within the limits of his district his powers are second only to those of the bishop. Within the limits of his district, and in the absence of the bishop, there is assigned to him, with the exception of authority to ordain, very nearly the full round of episcopal duties. He appoints all local preachers to supply work; has power to change preachers from one charge to another; has charge of all the elders, local preachers, and exhorters; appoints times for holding the district and quarterly conferences; licenses men to preach; and, in short, is responsible for a general superintendence of all the temporal and spiritual interests of the churches. The presiding elder is the one superintendent who touches with some measure of constancy and familiarity all the interests of the preachers and the churches. He is the one man who, on the ground where his work is done, must stand face to face with the results of that work. He will therefore feel a constant motive to discharge his duties so wisely and so justly that the scrutiny of those whose interests his work affects shall not be able to discover just grounds of censure against him. In the light of the

disciplinary duties of the presiding eldership the authority vested in our bishops to appoint all the presiding elders for the connection appears something stupendous; but when it is remembered that an unwritten but necessitated law of usage assigns to the presiding elders duties which transcend in importance all the written requirements of the Discipline, then this absolute power of appointment assumes an amazing aspect. But of these unwritten requirements of the presiding eldership it will be more convenient to speak later.

The scope and significance of episcopal authority come somewhat adequately into view when it is seen that not less than twelve thousand conference preachers, and an equal number of pastoral charges, are subject annually to the power of appointment vested in eleven officers. The interests involved under this authority are great beyond the power of any one man to measure. Most of the twelve thousand preachers are men of families. A Methodist bishop when he comes to an Annual Conference brings with him authority to decide questions of vital moment to many households — questions which shall sensitively affect the welfare and happiness of wives and of children. Surely, if a wise head, a studious insight, and a paternal heart were not the known possessions of a man thus empowered, then his official visitation might be anticipated as a thing of inquisitorial dread. But the interests of the preachers and their families—great as these are—are not the greatest ones affected. All the pastoral charges, gathering into themselves the most vital interests of Christ's kingdom in the territories which they cover, are dependent upon the bishop's voice for the men who shall serve them as spiritual teachers and pastors.

In the practical discharge of their functions in these grave relations the bishops doubtless do, both from choice and necessity, seek careful counsel in the interests both of the preachers and the churches. But it still remains true that legally neither the preachers nor the churches have any voice in these appointments, which so greatly interest them both. If, concerning the appointments, the preachers are permitted to consult the bishops about the interests and preferences of themselves and their families—if the bishops give a patient and kindly hearing to committees from the churches—yet these facts are conceded

in usage rather than provided for in law. Legally, the authority of appointment, so greatly affecting the interests both of churches and preachers, remains solely and absolutely with the bishops.

In the view thus far presented the list of the disciplinary functions assigned to the episcopal office is by no means exhausted. The incidental demands made upon the bishops in connection with their required duties might justly take a large place in any review of episcopal work. But, passing by these and other considerations, enough has already been stated in this paper to form the basis for a few critical suggestions on the law of the Church as applied to its episcopacy.

II. The first suggestion under this branch of our subject which the writer ventures to offer is, that the law which places such immense and absolute authority of appointment in the hands of a few men is a law seemingly out of harmony with the age and country in which we live.

Some one will reply that this is mere sentiment. But in the evolutions of history wrought by Providence the world has steadily tended from the absolutism of individual rule to democracy. If history teaches any thing, one of its lessons would seem to be that this continent was reserved from the world's view to these later ages that it might be the theater on which an enlightened democracy should have adequate and unembarrassed opportunity to work out its most beneficent results. In the light of providential lessons, it might be regarded as something more than sentiment to affirm that the greatest Church in this freest of the world's republics is, so far as its provisions for manning its pulpits are concerned, one of the most undemocratic of Churches.

The reason for this autocratic power reposed in the episcopacy is something which we do not have to go far to seek. It is an inheritance which has come down to us without, to this day, receiving a challenge sufficiently effectual to change its character.

One of the most remarkable men that the world has ever known was John Wesley. He was pre-eminent in wisdom and in his genius as a legislator, as well as peerless in his marvelous energy and power of achievement. His life was consecrated by holy experiences, inspired by Christ-like

purpose, and fired by apostolic zeal. In an age when the Church needed God's trumpet-call to arouse it from a state of spiritual lethargy and death, Wesley came forth to discharge a mission not less important to Christ's kingdom than was that of Luther in the German Reformation. The world stood before the portals of a new era. A great and virgin continent was now ready to open its gates to the advent of a civilization which, in the near future, should mingle in its millions all the races of the earth. Whether this civilization should be Christian or semi-pagan would depend, more than upon any other single agency, upon a movement which was now coming to its life in the British Islands. He who does not see that the religious movement called Methodism is one of the most gigantic and decisive in its effects upon both English and American civilization has no eye for measuring moral factors in the movements of history. Without it or its equivalent in the last two centuries, the map of Christendom would be a different thing from what it is to-day. But it is safe to say that the Methodistic movement could never have been what it is without the consecrated leadership of John Wesley. He had the energy to enlist and to lead its forces, the wisdom to organize those forces for their best work, and, withal, that supreme personal devotion to Christ's kingdom which led him, in all his conscious power of leadership, to consult only the glory of God among men. But, from first to last, throughout his long life, Wesley was the autocrat of Methodism. His voice was law, his word authority. In British Methodism his scepter was supreme until, in extreme age, it dropped from a hand relaxed in death.

It may be said, certainly without disparagement to Mr. Wesley, that he personally enjoyed the exercise of this power. It is one of the richest luxuries that can ever come to a man to feel that he is providentially ordained to leadership in a great and good cause. The evidences seem to show that it was not from any intention on the part of Mr. Wesley that he lost his personal leadership of American Methodism. If he authorized the ordination of superintendents for America, he nevertheless intended that these should work under his authority and direction. It may, moreover, be conceded that there was a marked fitness in the unchallenged autocracy of this great man. He was one of those great, exceptional men of whom God has only given a few

to the world. He combined in himself the powers which are usually distributed among many men. Methodism, in its organic life, was largely the creation of his own genius. It so largely centered in him, and emanated from him, that his unquestioned supremacy in its movements was accepted as a matter of manifest fitness. But Mr. Wesley's place in church history is as exceptional as it is pre-eminent. Dying, he left no successor. He made provision for the legal perpetuation of Methodism after his death, but it is well known to students of Methodist history that the period following the death of this great leader was, for years, one of anxious forebodings on the part of the most prominent men, preachers and laymen, in the British societies. It required the wisest statesmanship, and a large and loving spirit of brotherly concession, to adjust the denomination to its new conditions; to properly distribute the powers of administration which hitherto had been in the hands of one man. Happily for British Methodism, men who were both great and good stood in their places with a wisdom equal to the emergency. The denomination, without impairment from fatal divisions, was preserved by the blessing of God on the wisdom of its preachers, to enter upon a still widening career of spiritual power and usefulness. But in British Methodism Mr. Wesley was the first and only autocrat.

In the development of American Methodism, singularly, but providentially, a man fit in many respects to be the compeer of Mr. Wesley was the leading spirit. If he is to be measured by his tireless labors, his ceaseless travels, his heroic sacrifices, all cheerfully borne for the sake of his Master's cause, then, doubtless, Francis Asbury is to be ranked as the most apostolic man in the American Church.

Mr. Asbury at first labored in America largely subject to Mr. Wesley's direction. Until the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church he, from manifest fitness of leadership, wielded much of the same power in America as Mr. Wesley did in England. When, then, in response to the request of the American societies, and under Wesley's authorization, Coke and Asbury were ordained superintendents, with the authority to ordain elders to administer the sacraments, it was an easy and quite natural process that the Methodist Episcopal Church in its earliest organization should confirm in the person of its

superintendents that authority of appointment which Mr. Asbury from the first had so judiciously exercised.

This was done at a time when the presence of Asbury was well-nigh ubiquitous among the societies; when, by his astonishing activity of superintendence, he had a more accurate knowledge personally of the preachers and their families, and of the state and needs of the societies, than perhaps it has been possible for any bishop since his day to have. If there was ever any justification in American Methodism for placing the supreme authority of ministerial appointment in episcopal hands, then certainly that justification had its vindication in the person of Bishop Asbury. He was *facile princeps*, a bishop by reason of his Pauline manhood. With a wisdom that seldom misjudged, with a piety ever aglow, with an energy that carried him like an eagle's flight, with a heroism that took on itself the heaviest burdens and the bitterest privations of that early itinerant life, with a heart always in sympathy with the struggles of his brethren—the great Asbury was approved, by the ordination of Heaven, a bishop on the front of whose miter there might also fittingly rest the badge of authority.

Yet, notwithstanding the pre-eminent fitness of Asbury for supremacy among his brethren, within his life-time the question of limiting the absolute power of the bishops in relation to the appointments became one of the most burning and anxious questions in American Methodism. This question became the essential occasion for the first great schism in the denomination. For several successive General Conferences, before and after the death of Asbury, it was most vigorously discussed by the ablest minds of the Church. It is a question which has often been kept in abeyance by others which, for the time, have required attention, but one the significance of which has never been lost sight of by the students of our denominational polity. The anomaly in the practical situation appears when it is remembered that in England, the land of monarchic rule and of hereditary aristocracy, the system of ministerial appointment practiced in Methodism since the death of Wesley has been as nearly democratic as it is possible to make it, while, during the same time, in this free republic, the vast power of appointment, involving stupendous interests, has been confided as a

sovereign authority to the hands of a few men. This question, as to whether the sovereign power of appointment resting with Methodist bishops is in harmony with the spirit of our age and country, whether one of mere sentiment or not, is at least large enough to suggest ground for sober reflection. If not vital, it is sufficiently singular and important to provoke study.

2. Another suggestion which is evoked by a study of episcopal authority is, that it is an authority not sufficiently guarded in behalf of the Church whose interests it so vitally affects.

This suggestion is not new. The general usage of the Church has been that, where persons have been placed in positions of great trust, the positions themselves shall not only be surrounded by ample safeguards, but their incumbents shall be under the scrutiny of authority, and shall be held to a close accountability for the faithful discharge of their trusts.

The decisions of bishops go to the very heart of family life; they touch the spiritual nerve-centers throughout the Church. Into relations that are most sensitive and sacred, upon work that is most vital to Christ's kingdom, the bishop projects his authority, and it is final. So far as law speaks, it says that in this present year one thousand Methodist ministers and their families must go to such fields of labor as one bishop alone has authority to decide for them, and that one thousand pastoral charges must receive such men, and only such, as he decides to send them. And there is provided in law no limitation, no safeguard, as against an unwise exercise of this vast power.* If a bishop is guilty of immorality, of imprudent conduct, or of heresy, there is a way provided to bring him to trial. But if it should ever so happen that a man imperious and heartless should come to the bishop's chair, he would have power to make appointments which would go through men's souls like a pointed iron, and, under the present law, those aggrieved would have little or no power of redress. This is written with full knowledge of the law which says that a bishop is answerable for his conduct to the General Conference, and that complaints against his administration may be for-

* It deserves to be noted that this Episcopal power is not independent but responsible, and subject to the will of a body composed of representatives of the parties over whom it is exercised. It cannot, therefore, be permanently perverted.—EDITOR.

warded to the same body. But the General Conference meets only once in four years, has a hurried session of less than a month, has other and absorbing business on hand, and makes no provision to defray the traveling expenses of a poor preacher who may think himself aggrieved at the hands of a bishop. The bishop, in the sphere of his appointing power, has practically no legal tribunal to fear. In those relations where his authority might work the greatest hardships there is, at best, only the most ghostly probability that he would ever be called to an official reckoning. A study of this question must make it clear that it would comport well with the usage of the Church in its other departments, that it would not detract from the essential dignity of the episcopal office, and that in the light even of theoretical possibilities it would be a reasonably prudent action so to revise existing rules as to bring the exercise of this most important function of the appointing power within clearly defined limits of responsibility.

3. Again, it would seem desirable, on many accounts, to so adjust the law of ministerial appointments as to cut the ground from under the feet of those who, unfriendly to Methodist polity, make existing law the ground for caustic and adverse criticisms of our system.

The writer, as a loyal student of Methodism, has been painfully interested in criticisms which, from time to time, he has been forced to hear from those who study our system for the purpose of attacking it.

Our critics sometimes undertake to impress us that it is in the very nature of our system to develop a spirit of tyranny in the bishops themselves. They say in substance:

> The bishops are but men. It is certain that, for some reason, the episcopacy is regarded as a chief prize, which tempts the ambition of many in the ministry of the Church. It is abstractly possible that the election of bishops may, by and by, become largely a matter of Church politics. If such should ever be the case, then opportunity would be afforded for some man of towering personal ambition—a man adroit in the use of political methods—to so manipulate the forces in the field as to secure his own election to the high office of bishop. He has won his prize by processes which nobler, larger, and better men could never be tempted to adopt. He is a bishop. Whatever glamour the episcopal name may carry after he has invaded the office will henceforth attach to him. Wrapped in the robes of a life-office, bearing the badge of great authority,

can any one see why such a man is not likely somewhat unduly to magnify the importance of his personality? If ever smitten with a consciousness of his inferiority in the presence of brethren with whom he deals, would he not seek to fortify himself by a more ostentatious show of his authority?

Again they say:

The episcopal office as now constituted represents, beyond any reason in the nature of things, an officialism which may easily hold itself in lofty separation from the working ranks of the Church. Different from all other official stations in the ministry of Methodism, it gives to its incumbent a life-tenure of office. The office clothes its occupant with an authority which naturally appeals to the love of power. The office must be vested in a few men. And, as human nature is made up, these will be remarkable men indeed if they do not tenaciously and jealously guard and cherish all the prerogatives of their office. Evidence is not wanting that the great Wesley, to the end of his days, was characterized by a tenacious love of personal power. And in the early General Conferences of American Methodism, whenever the members, as it was clearly their right to do, discussed the desirability of limiting the episcopal authority, we have the not very edifying spectacle of the saintly Asbury either leaving the room or turning his back in grieved contempt upon the assembly. In presence of such examples, it is hardly reasonable to assume that men not their superiors will be less appreciative of the power of office, or less sensitive to encroachments upon what they may come to regard as their personal prerogatives.

The same class of critics, who think they see in the very nature of our system opportunities for such dangerous development of episcopal authority, are also quite certain that the system must produce correspondingly unhappy results upon the spirit of the ministry. They say:

If it is not good for the spirit of one set of men to be unduly exalted in power, it certainly is not better for the spirit of a larger number of men to feel that, in a very sensitive sense, they are the subjects of that power. Yet wherever there is a conscious dependence on power there is a tendency to be subservient to that power—a temptation to court and flatter its possessors. Abstractly, it could not be expected that the relations of preachers and churches to the authority of Methodist bishops would prove an exception to this rule.

To sustain this opinion they point to the fact that

As early in Methodist history as the O'Kelly controversy it was affirmed by the partisans of O'Kelly that the fear of Bishop Asbury's authority was sufficient to prevent many from express-

ing their real convictions. Is it not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that the ministry of the present stand in less subservient relations to episcopal power? The bishops hold a position of immense power. They can, if they so choose, do much to direct the legislation of the Church in harmony with their own views; they may use the wide opportunities of their position to influence the election of candidates to the high offices of the Church; they practically have the power to set up one man and to put down another. Now if the bishops upon the one hand possess such official authority and power in the Church, it can scarcely be otherwise than that, upon the other hand, there shall come to many in the ministry a temptation to flatter and to court this power in a spirit that shall be hurtful to their ministerial manhood.*

Now, there are two facts which practically make nugatory these hostile strictures upon our system. The one is, the sanctified wisdom of our bishops; the other is, the self-respecting manhood of our ministry. These are facts which it is folly to leave out of the reckoning in any criticism aimed at our episcopal administration. The spirit of the criticisms above stated is grossly unjust to our bishops. It is gratuitous to say of the bishops that personally they are men of large experience and of great practical discernment. As men, they are fair-minded, brotherly, and devout. They can but recognize and respect the right of any man to discuss freely and fully any law of the Church. As administrators of discipline, it is the business of preachers to keep, and not to mend, the rules. But, while faithfully keeping the rules, it is an inalienable right belonging to every member in the Church, preacher and layman, to discuss and criticise its laws, and, if

* Dr. Mains's *résumé* of the objections made to our polity by prejudiced observers reminds one of such books as *The Great Iron Wheel, A Century of Puritanism and a Century of its Opposites*, etc., which were freely circulated more than thirty years ago, but which were innocuous because in its practical working our Methodism did not sustain their charges against its polity. As Dr. Mains shows further on, the high character of its administrators and its splendid *esprit du corps* utilized its admirable working provisions without developing those injurious possibilities which, as many think, are contained in the principles of its polity. Of the expediency of the limitation to the authority of its chief administrators, once sought so earnestly by some of the noblest of our Church fathers, and now loyally contended for in the above article, and also by Dr. Porter, not long since, there will be different opinions. But its discussion, if temperately conducted, can do no harm. Whatever our enemies may say of Methodism, they cannot truthfully affirm that it shackles the speech of either its ministers or laymen. As in the State so in the Church, freedom of speech is both a conservative and a progressive force.—EDITOR.

he desires, to suggest measures for their revision and improvement. And no men more clearly know and recognize this right of all than the bishops of the Church. The Church has confided to the bishops an authority of which it would be a gross abuse for them to take any arbitrary advantage as against individuals for personal ends. The only thing that makes this great authority for a moment tolerable is, the constant assumption that the men who wield it will act in a most godly, unselfish, and paternal spirit. A disposition to lord it, a cold, self-seeking spirit, a mind chafed by personal animosities, incapable of rising above personal spites, a vision too narrow to take noble and loving views of men, an attitude of mind so self-confident or so indifferent as to seek the avoidance of the most patient investigation of all questions essential to just decisions—these, and like qualities, would be of all places most out of place in the chairs of the Methodist episcopacy. The great authority which the Church has conferred upon its bishops is committed to them as a trust to be most sacredly administered. In the spirit in which the Church confers this authority, and in which the person to be installed in the office agrees to receive it, there is no allowance for any thing but for its most godly exercise. In this view, a Methodist bishop who would consent to use his high place to promote purely selfish ends, or to lord it over his brethren, would be unfaithful to his high trust. But the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been as free from personal misuse of their authority as any set of men subjected to their exacting, difficult, and wearing duties could well be. They have not been untrue to their sacred obligations in the past; they are not likely to prove untrue in the future. But if they should in the future make unjustifiable use of their authority, then, such is the free spirit of the Church, that authority, like a sea-wave, would dash itself to pieces against the resisting manhood of the ministry and the Church.

Practically, therefore, there is little danger to be feared in Methodism from a tyrannical episcopacy, upon the one hand, or from a servile ministry upon the other hand. But, nevertheless, the letter of Methodist law seems, on the one side, to place such unlimited authority in the hands of a few, while it leaves the many subject to this authority, that, studied in its naked

letter, it furnishes plausible grounds for these theoretical strictures of our enemies, although, as shown, the spirit in which it is administered may be worthy of all commendation. These points being conceded, the writer may now be permitted to state one of the most practically urgent reasons for an early and wise modification of this law.

4. The law regulating the authority of appointments in Methodism might be so adjusted as to cause this authority to emanate more directly from, and to be more closely amenable to, the ministry and the people whose interests are so greatly affected by its exercise.

So far as the ministry is concerned, the time has come when its rank and file should have a direct voice in deciding concerning its commanders in the field. The statesmen of the Church, who would project wise plans for the future growth and strength of the denomination, will act wisely if they are studiously careful to devise means which shall bring the masses of our people—both ministry and laity—into more direct and causative relations to the central machinery of the system. In the growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church its centralization of authority becomes more and more manifest. The General Conference, meeting but once in four years, is the only law-making council of the Church. But the growth of the Church and the representatives in this council have stood in a somewhat inverse relation to each other—the ratio of representatives growing relatively less with the increase of the Church.

The General Conference, on the present basis of representation, is thought by many to be an unwieldy body, and there is a pressure to still further lessen the ratio of representation to its membership. Thus our very denominational growth tends more and more to disfranchise the working ranks of the ministry and laity from participation in the law-making functions of the Church. Practically, even now, the great body of working ministers in Methodism is not much represented in the authority conferring counsels of the denomination. And this is a grave matter. The strength of Methodism is, and always must be, largely in its traveling ministry. The men who have pioneered its successes over pathways of hardship, and through wildernesses of difficulty—who have conceived its great ag-

gressive plans, and who have organized and inspired its forces with zeal and courage for the achievement of those plans—these are the men who stand and have stood in the ranks of the itinerant ministry. These are the men who must be relied upon for the most useful leadership of the future. It is God's ordination; the ministry is divinely commissioned to marshal and to lead the Church to the conquest of the world.

But who shall plead the wisdom of that system which tells these men, divinely called to transform the face of the world, that they shall have little or no voice in deciding as to the human authorities that shall direct their labors? Such a system is wrong; it needs correction. Heroes, of whom every man is himself a leader, have a natural right to decide as to whom they shall crown with chieftainship over themselves.

To devise some wisely practicable method by which the members of the Annual Conferences should have a direct vote in electing those who, in turn, should have a decisive voice in making the appointments, would be to render immensely valuable service to the denomination.

5. A final objection which the writer urges against the present law of the episcopal appointing authority is that, as a law standing by itself, it is clearly impracticable.

In proof of this position but a single statement is needed. The present membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church approaches two millions. This vast membership is distributed through many thousands of societies, and over all the lands of the earth. This membership is served by twelve thousand conference ministers, to say nothing about an equal or a larger number of local preachers. Every Society and every Conference preacher in this great Connection is subject to an annual appointment, and they whose authority and duty alone it is to make appointments for all these are, at present, eleven men. To illustrate what is assigned to these men, suppose the following case: A Western bishop comes to one of the New York Conferences. He cannot at most stay more than a fortnight within the territory of the Conference. He is necessarily a stranger. He has never personally seen one in twenty of the churches to be served; he cannot even name from personal acquaintance one in six of the members of the Conference. And yet the law makes it the duty of this stranger, and of him

solely, to appoint, within the brief space at his command, more than two hundred ministers to as many churches for the doing of God's most important work in the world. Now, whatever the letter of Methodist law says, common sense says that no man has yet been born who has the ability, under such conditions, properly to discharge such a task.

If, now, it should be replied that, whatever the letter of the law may call for, the usage of the Church so comes to the relief of the appointing power as to enable it to do its work, upon the whole, quite wisely, to this it only needs to be said that the factor of usage has thus far been purposely omitted from this discussion.

It has been the purpose of this paper to deal mainly with the law of the episcopal appointing power as it stands on the books, and its plea is that the letter of this law should not only be so changed as to make it conform to usage, but that it shall be so worded as to create a usage that shall harmonize more perfectly than the usage of the present with the fundamental law of the Church.

III. The plan here to be suggested to secure the needed changes is not novel. It is one which the wisdom of the fathers wrought out at a time when its provisions were not so needful as now. It is a plan which, after thorough discussion, was once adopted by more than a two-thirds vote of a General Conference. The plan from that moment ought to have remained an unquestioned embodiment in our church law. But at the dictation of one man, who had just been elected to the episcopacy and who declared his purpose not to serve under this law, that General Conference, for the sake of peace, allowed this plan to be suspended, and eight years later, for reasons which did not affect its merits, the plan was rescinded.

The plan then proposed was as follows:

1. That whenever in any Annual Conference there shall be a vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder, in consequence of his period of service of four years having expired, or the bishop wishing to remove any presiding elder, or by death, resignation, or otherwise, the bishop or president of the Conference, having ascertained the number wanted from any of these causes, shall nominate three times the number, out of which the Conference shall elect by ballot without debate the number wanted; *provided*, when there is more than one wanted not more than three at a

time shall be nominated, nor more than one at a time elected; *provided*, also, that in case of any vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in the interval of any Annual Conference the bishop shall have authority to fill the said vacancy or vacancies until the ensuing Annual Conference.

2. That the presiding elders be and are hereby made the advisory council of the bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers.

The writer's understanding of the second part of this plan is, that it confers upon the presiding elders authority, in the sense that no appointment could be confirmed without, at least, a majority vote of the bishop and his council. The adoption of this plan would result in many and great advantages. Note a few of them.

1. While leaving with the episcopacy a proper measure of authority, it would also confer a rightful dignity and authority upon the presiding eldership.

It has long been conceded that the bishops are absolutely dependent for the wise discharge of their functions in making the appointments upon the knowledge and advice of the presiding elders. The bishops themselves freely admit this. It is the duty of the presiding elders, as of no other persons, to inspect the conditions and needs of the churches, and to know the characters and wants of the preachers, and, in the nature of their work, they are the only men in the Conference who from a knowledge of the entire field are competent to give wise advice for all the work of appointment-making. The bishop is necessarily dependent upon their counsel; and, as a matter of fact, a great majority of all the preachers and churches in the Conference rely upon them to arrange their appointments. This is in usage perhaps their most important function. Yet this is the very function for the discharge of which they have not one syllable of authority in law. They may arrange with the most prayerful and studious care for a wise adjustment of all the Conference appointments, and the bishop, with not a tithe of their knowledge of the situation, has authority to undo all their work, and to ignore their counsels. In case of episcopal readjustments that disappoint both churches and preachers, as in the nature of things they sometimes must, the bishop, after reading the appointments, disappears from the scene, while the presiding elders, who are without power in the matter, are

left on the ground to face the censures of both the disappointed parties.

Now, this position of the presiding elders is not only most anomalous, it is humiliating. Either the presiding elders ought to be excused from all responsibility in making the appointments, or else they ought to have authority commensurate with their responsibility. The system as it is now worked not only places these officers in humiliating relations, but it carries distrust and weakness into its own movements. Many of the larger churches, knowing how little familiar the bishop is with their needs, do not trust him to arrange for their appointments; knowing the helplessness of the presiding elders, they will not trust the matter to them; and so they proceed, oftentimes at disadvantage and with poor results to themselves, independently to make their own arrangements. The effect of this practice upon the weaker churches, which are wanting in power to make influential demands upon the appointing authority, is often to breed in them both distrust and discouragement. The disposition of churches to prearrange for their pastors may not in itself be a bad thing, but its increasing prevalence, especially in the older Conferences, shows that the appointing authority is not trusted by the churches as it once was.

Let this plan of the fathers be adopted, and the presiding elders will not only be clothed with an authority which shall attach a just responsibility to their work, but the distribution of the appointing authority will be such as to inspire confidence among both churches and preachers that the appointments will be wisely made.

2. The plan proposed calls for an Annual Conference autonomy that falls with beautiful harmony into the general constitution of the Church. The bishops are general, not local, superintendents. They are elected by the General Conference, the body representing the entire Church. But the presiding elders, under this plan, would be local superintendents, their jurisdiction being confined to the Conferences which they represent. Within their own Conferences, in the matter of appointment-making, they would be jointly responsible with the presiding bishop. Is it not as manifestly fit for the Annual Conferences to elect their own local superintendents as for the General Conference to elect the general superintendents of the

Church? Within every Annual Conference there are men who, from their intimate knowledge of local needs, are more competent wisely to adjust ministerial appointments than any general superintendent in the nature of the case can be. The working ministers of the Church would feel, under this plan, that their interests are authoritatively handled by men whom they had a decisive voice in making their chiefs in office. The concession by the General Conference of this kind of suffrage to the Annual Conferences would be a dignified act; it would be a wise bestowment of authority where it properly belongs.

This plan would not encroach upon the proper dignities of the episcopal office. If, in some such sense as the members of his cabinet are the advisers of the president of the nation, the presiding elders are to be regarded as the bishop's advisers, the bishop still has the right of nomination. The Constitution of the United States gives to the president the right to nominate the various members of his cabinet, because it concedes the propriety of his having advisers in these close relations who shall be congenial to himself. But inasmuch as these men have to deal with important interests of the people, the Constitution also provides that these nominations may be confirmed or rejected by the Senate. That an Annual Conference ought to have the right at least to confirm or reject the nominations of the bishop for presiding elders is manifest, when it is remembered that the presiding elders deal with the interests of the Conference. They are, and ought to be, much more the representatives of the Conference than of the bishop.

If any should insist that this plan would detract from episcopal dignity, it must still be easy to see that any loss in this direction would be much more than compensated by the just dignity that it would confer upon the presiding elders, and upon all the Annual Conferences.

3. Finally, the adoption of this plan would furnish the occasion for the introduction of a useful lay representation into the Annual Conference. The formation of the districts as well as the appointments of preachers ought to be decided by a vote of the bishop's council. The formation of districts and the appointment of preachers are both matters of grave importance to the laity. It might prove both just and reasonable that a wisely regulated lay delegation should have a joint-voice with

the members of the Conference in the election of the presiding elders.

The movement which secured lay representation in the General Conference was in the right direction. But this result only partially meets the needs of the Church. A movement that would vastly more serve the denomination is one that will secure a wisely-adjusted lay representation in all the Annual Conferences. The people ought to be more and more the authority-conferring power in the Church. The political education of the American people is in this direction. The American Church that will hold the people in the future is the Church that will preach the doctrines of Methodism, while, at the same time, the suffrage which shall control its legislation and direct its practical work is most liberally vested in its membership. The real strength of the nation is in the patriotism of its citizens. But citizenship is a condition to patriotism.

A thing which Methodism needs now to do is to inspire into the heart of its great membership a spirit of denominational patriotism. One certain way of doing this is to invest our members with a larger Church citizenship. Let every youth who comes into the membership of the Church feel that he may become a direct factor in influencing the law and life of its movements, and we shall have a generation of Methodist laymen who will be intelligent students of their denominational polity, who will feel a patriotic love for the Church of which they are the guardians, and who may be relied upon, by their generous gifts and their consecrated labors, to give to Methodism a foremost place in Christ's kingdom upon the earth.

The plan proposed is one that harmonizes well with the fundamental law of the Church; it is, doubtless, constitutional. It is historic, and has the merit of simplicity. If it were conceded, the machinery is at hand for its prompt working.

It will be easily within the power of the next General Conference to adopt this plan as the law of the Church. If adopted, we believe it would be greatly promotive of an era of prosperity and power such as hitherto has had no parallel in Methodist history.

GEORGE P. MAINS.

Art. VI.—FOREIGN EPISCOPAL RESIDENCES.

One of the most important questions to come before the next General Conference is that of episcopal residences in foreign lands. The subject was introduced into the last General Conference on the fourth day of the session by a resolution prepared and presented by the author of this paper, requesting the Committee on Episcopacy "to carefully consider and report upon the desirability of having two of the bishops assigned to reside in foreign fields." As stated at the time, this resolution was the fruit of the independent thought of its mover. As a somewhat careful student of the missionary work and methods of our Church, he had come to believe that the time was at hand when those methods should be so modified that the episcopacy should be really and practically identified with the foreign work, and given such an opportunity for leadership in that work as they have in the home work. He had accordingly been led to think it desirable that, even as episcopal residences had been placed in San Francisco and Atlanta, and other cities in different portions of our vast national domain, so episcopal residences ought to be placed in at least two of our foreign fields; one in India and one in Europe. Before introducing his resolution he had very briefly conferred with two or three of the most prominent foreign missionaries who were members of the body, and had found them both surprised and gratified at his intention to bring the subject forward. They felt it very important that the step called for should be taken, although they had no Conference resolution or memorial to present. They afterward supported the proposition most weightily, both in committee and on the floor of the General Conference. But it did not originate with them, and they had no personal interest to subserve in supporting it. They were actuated only by their supreme desire for the greatest possible success of our Church in its foreign work.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Missions, where, after a strong discussion, favorable action was taken, the placing of an episcopal residence in India being recommended by a vote of 57 to 2, and that of an episcopal residence in Europe by a vote of 50 to 7. In view of the fact that there

had been no previous canvassing of the subject this large majority was both surprising and significant. These recommendations, embodied in separate reports, were by the General Conference referred to the Committee on Episcopacy. That Committee, by a large majority, subsequently recommended the placing of an episcopal residence in India, the Committee on Judiciary having previously reported its opinion "that the General Conference has power to fix the residence of any of its bishops in any part of the territory occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church." The debate on the general question was a very able one, lasting several days. The bishops were asked for their opinion, and replied "that it would not be wise at the present time to fix episcopal residences in Europe, India, and Africa, nor in any one of them." When the General Conference finally came to a vote on the report recommending the placing of an episcopal residence in India, a separate vote of the two houses being called for by more than one third of the laymen present, 144 ministerial delegates voted in favor of the proposition and 110 against it. The lay vote was 59 in favor and 81 against. The report accordingly failed of adoption for the want of a concurrent vote, though supported by a majority of the total number of votes. Among those who voted affirmatively were four out of the five who were subsequently elected bishops; namely, W. X. Ninde, W. F. Mallalieu, J. M. Walden, and William Taylor—the latter, of course, voting as a layman. By all parties the question was regarded as one of the greatest importance. Dr. Lanahan called it "the weightiest and most important question that ever came before the General Conference." Dr. Curry agreed "with Dr. Lanahan that this subject, if not the greatest that ever came before the General Conference, yet is one of the very great ones." Others, on both sides of the question, used language equally strong concerning it. One leading point pressed by the opposition was that the movement was premature.

The agitation of the question was certainly not generally anticipated, and it had not been discussed in the Church periodicals. Yet it had only to be presented to enlist the earnest attention of every member of the body. And in the course of its consideration certain facts were made clear, namely; that the representative foreign missionaries of the Church were

unanimous in believing it of essential importance that episcopal residences for general superintendents should be fixed in India and in Europe; that, although no memorial had been presented from India, the subject had been very thoroughly considered by the membership of both our Conferences there, and it was their desire that they should be given a resident bishop; that both at home and abroad the Church looks to the episcopacy for leadership as well as administration; that the dimensions of our foreign work had become such that the old methods of management must soon be superseded either by missionary bishops or local autonomy if not by the plan proposed; that the plan of establishing foreign episcopal residences was entirely in harmony with the Discipline, and was favored by a majority of the members of the body and by a large majority of the clerical delegates, embracing many of the ablest, most distinguished, and most conservative men of the denomination. No measure of any considerable importance ever before received such favorable and thoughtful consideration by a General Conference without having been previously discussed extensively in print.

From these facts it may be inferred that the question was not finally settled, though the plan was for the time defeated. The future, the near future, will have to choose between the plan of foreign episcopal residence and some radical change. The placing of episcopal residences in foreign lands is not a radical change. It is the only one which is respectful to the episcopacy and conservative of the unity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The question will be brought before the next General Conference by the representatives of our foreign fields. There will then be no ground for saying that its presentation is premature. It may yet be seen that it was not premature in 1884.

There are certain considerations in favor of the plan of fixing foreign episcopal residences that have much weight:

1. The fixing of episcopal residences in foreign lands is demanded by the theory that underlies the fixing of episcopal residences in different portions of our own land.

A fair sample of the discussion which preceded the fixing of episcopal residences first by the General Conference of 1872 is found in the following extract from an article on "Method-

ism: Its Method and Mission," by Dr. Jesse T. Peck, afterward bishop, in the *Methodist Review* for April, 1869:

> Let the idea of a ubiquitous "general itinerant superintendency" be fully realized. This does not require a large increase of the number of bishops, which for economical and connectional reasons will generally be admitted to be inexpedient; nor diocesan episcopacy, which would destroy our itinerancy. Let our episcopacy remain in jurisdictional authority entirely indivisible, as though it were one universal bishop. The genius of our church polity requires it, and there is absolutely no other way of realizing administrative unity in unlimited extension.
>
> There is, however, a power for good, partly personal and partly of office, which appertains to the episcopal presence and labors, which ought to be fairly distributed, and which, like all other pastoral functions, absolutely demands assignable limits for its most effective application. This is inevitably localized, and its area largely determined by the residence of the bishop. Let, then, the General Conference divide our whole territory into as many districts as there are effective bishops, and direct that one shall reside in each district, to exchange within a prescribed period, leaving jurisdiction and the distribution of administrative labor precisely as they now are.

The General Conference of 1872 recognized the truth here happily stated, that there is "a power for good, partly personal and partly of office, which appertains to the episcopal presence and labors, which *ought to be fairly distributed.*" It also acted on the theory that that power has "*its area largely determined by the residence of the bishop.*" It wisely did not try to set limits to the local influence of a bishop, but it fixed episcopal residences for the newly-elected bishops, recommending that they should select their respective residences from the eight designated places in the order in which they were elected. An effort was made to distribute the episcopal residences fairly throughout the work in America. There was no requirement that an exchange of residences should be made after a term of years. The action of subsequent General Conferences has been similar.

The demand for foreign episcopal residences is simply a demand that the principle be applied to "*our whole territory.*" No one doubts that there has been greater energy and greater growth in the younger portions of our work on account of the great local influence of the resident bishop. To preside at and have jurisdiction over Conferences are but portions of the real

work of a Methodist bishop, and all his work, however much there be of it, and however well it be done, does not account for the sum total of his influence. In the bishops we see the representatives of the whole Church. They are aggrandized by imagination and sentiment, and the addition to their personal power thus gained is not only real but vast. The sight of a bishop is often worth more to a great occasion than the eloquence of an orator. The value of the visit of a bishop to any section cannot be graduated by his gifts or his activity. He is the visible embodiment of the unity and grandeur of a great denomination, with its heroic and wonderful past, and its limitless possibilities for the future. His residence in any given portion of the territory of the Church, even when his general duties call him to other and distant fields for much of the time, not only gives that locality the benefit of his counsel, his enthusiasm, his leadership, and the chief place in his affections, but also strengthens it with the aggregated prestige of the whole denomination. All those elements of a bishop's power and influence are especially needed in the new and difficult portions of our vast field, and are needed most of all in our work in foreign lands. The special interest of a bishop in a certain portion of our territory does not interfere with his interest in the Church as a whole, or his activity and efficiency as a general superintendent.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is ecumenical now, whatever it may be in the future. The fact that our foreign work has been visited regularly by our bishops illustrates the fact that our Church is the same in Europe and Asia as in America, the same in India or China as in Colorado or California. The fixing of episcopal residences in the new and more distant sections of our American work shows that the personal and official power of a resident bishop is regarded as of great importance where leadership is especially demanded, where difficult questions have to be often considered, and where the foundations have to be laid for the great educational and religious development of the future. All will concede that these conditions are especially characteristic of our foreign fields. Why not, then, give the continents of Asia and Europe at least one resident bishop? There is nothing against it in the law of the Church. To do so would be in harmony with the policy which has been

pursued since 1872. Not to do so is discordant with that policy. But it has been said that to fix an episcopal residence in India would be equivalent to making a diocesan bishop of the general superintendent sent to reside there. This notion is obviously mistaken, not to say absurd, and yet it will do no harm to exhibit its fallacy:

1.) A general superintendent residing in India, and spending most of his time there, could biennially at least visit Conferences in China and Japan, and once in a quadrennium be assigned to visit the European Conferences and a number of Conferences in America. And once in a quadrennium another of our general superintendents could be sent to preside at the Conferences in India.

2.) The history of the past would indicate that neither a bishop's long residence in a certain locality, nor his continued presidency over the same Conference, nor his continued supervision over the same Conference, is inconsistent with the general superintendency. Certainly, protracted residence in one section or one city does not make a bishop any the less a general superintendent. Most of the bishops may reside in the same city during the whole period of their effective service, if they so desire. Many of our bishops have continued in the same place of residence for many years, and have been in toil and travel eminent among our general superintendents. Continued or repeated presidency over the same Conference has been considered not inconsistent with the plan of our itinerant general superintendency. Bishop Hedding presided over the New England Conference for eleven successive years. During recent years there have been many instances of one bishop's presiding at a certain Conference two successive years. Bishop Foster presided at the East Maine Conference in 1876, 1879, and 1880—three times in five years. He would have been welcomed heartily if he had done so during five successive years, and would not have been thereby disqualified for or hindered in his duties as a general superintendent. The fact that a bishop has presided at a certain Conference is often a good reason why he should go there again, and has been recognized as such. The same bishop usually presides over the European Conferences during two years in succession. Long-continued episcopal supervision of the same field by the same bishop has

not been regarded as inconsistent with the general superintendency. Bishop Harris had episcopal supervision over India from 1874 till his decease.

3.) The itinerant general superintendency does not require that any one bishop should travel through the whole territory of the Church. Bishop Ames was never sent to any portion of our foreign field, and the General Conference found no fault with his being limited to America during the whole of his long term of episcopal service. If a bishop may be limited to America by his own choice and the assignment of the Board of Bishops for many years or for his life-time, even after the foreign work of the Church has become vastly extended, and yet be a general superintendent, he might both reside and be assigned by the bishops to work in Asia for a term of years and yet not become diocesan. A diocesan bishop is one the boundaries of whose district are defined by the General Conference, and whose jurisdiction is limited to his district by the General Conference, so that no assignment of labor can be made for him by the Board of Bishops. A missionary bishop, as defined by the amended third restrictive rule, is really a diocesan bishop. He is equal in rank to the other bishops. By the same form of consecration he has been set apart for life for the office of a bishop in the Church of God. But the limits of his episcopal work and jurisdiction are fixed by the General Conference. The other bishops cannot in any way interfere with him, nor can he have any part in assigning them to their work from year to year. When a missionary or diocesan bishop is shut into any territory the other bishops are shut out of it. But no such consequences follow the fixing of an episcopal residence.

2. The need of a resident general superintendent has been strongly expressed by our ministers and missionaries in foreign fields, and especially in India. No men more vividly realize the unity of Episcopal Methodism than those who have built up our foreign work. They desire to be in the fullest sense identified with the Church. It is natural that they should thus desire. The genius of Episcopal Methodism is such that wherever it makes a new conquest the new class, the new society, the new mission, the new district, the new Conference, is vitally, and not simply formally, linked to the main body; the

new sprout, twig, or branch is an outgrowth of the tree. It has been well said by one of the ablest of our missionaries:

> The missionaries cannot safely assume that their converts are so many children, nor, on the other hand, can missionary authorities in England or America commit the more serious mistake of supposing that foreign missions must have their ecclesiastical affairs administered by parties on the other side of the globe. In every living Church there are laws of growth as natural and yet as inseparable from life itself as the corresponding laws which we see in plants and trees; and we must assume that the development of every little Church and of every Christian community will go on according to fixed laws, the development being from within and not from without. Hence, I have long been of the opinion that the whole machinery of ecclesiastical administration ought to be present in every mission field.*

This is true of every denomination, but it is a truth of far greater importance in the Methodist Episcopal Church than in any other. The connectional bond is especially represented by the episcopacy of the general superintendents. The presiding eldership is a limited episcopacy, but it covers no broader unity than that of the district. The episcopacy represents the unity of the whole Church. The need of resident bishops has for years been felt by our leading missionaries. The testimony from foreign fields is, that the time has fully come when episcopal residence there is imperatively needed. The loftiest representatives of the unity of the Church can best bind the new fields with unity. A visiting bishop, however able, however sympathetic, however careful and laborious, cannot afford the local leadership of which there is pressing need. This was the concurrent testimony of the representatives of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the General Conference of 1884. When there is no resident bishop on a whole continent the personal influence of the episcopacy can be comparatively little felt; the local leadership will certainly not be episcopal. In the discussion at the last General Conference Ram Chandra Bose said:

> There are about 8,000 Methodists in India in connection with our two Conferences, and of these about 50 per cent., or 4,000, do not know the difference between a presiding elder and a bishop; or whether a bishop is a huge animal like the elephant, or a funny little thing like the mouse. Of the remaining 4,000, nine-tenths have not bestowed a moment's thought on the subject.

* J. M. Thoburn, *Missionary Addresses.*

Unlike our great missionaries in that land, he was well content to have this state of things continue; but, if his statement was correct, it is certain that the biennial visits of the bishops have not made any great impression on the native membership.

The Rev. Dennis Osborne, of the South India Conference, in the course of a most eloquent appeal for the placing of an episcopal residence in India, said:

I have heard said, and before this General Conference, that which has given me the impression that our bishops are not appreciated in America. Now in India we do not have that sentiment. I have heard a brother here say, that in such and such a Conference a bishop had not been seen for so many years, and I am amazed. But in India we have this opinion: that a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church is a leader though he is not able to speak the language of the country. He may not be able when he comes from here, but he will be a man of good judgment and will stand by his brethren and the work, and though he may have to be interpreted to the natives, he is able to be of service to them in their language, and able to address masses of educated natives in the English language.

We want a leader. There is a vast country before us, Mr. President, and when I think of the needs of the land, when I think of that which the Lord has accomplished by the instrumentality of these two Conferences, and especially through the instrumentality of the North India Conference, and when I think of the great territory already obtained, I can but give utterance to the thought that we need a bishop there. . . . When I was coming to America I took pains to get testimony. I circulated a paper, and the unanimous testimony of brethren was this: We are a unit on this question. We feel that there is need of peculiar, constant, and extended episcopal supervision in India. We shall welcome it as a much-needed good. This is the sentiment of our Conference on the subject. And now the cry has come from India.

Said that veteran, the Rev. E. W. Parker:

This is, indeed, a new step. I have studied it for twelve years, and it has grown upon me that a bishop in India could do us a great deal of good. Look at the land—1,900 miles long by 1,500 miles wide. Just consider the field of India as if it were the United States east of the Mississippi River! and then consider that that land is dotted with twice as many cities as you have east of the Mississippi River. We have occupied every one of these cities as centers. Now that is our field—250,000,000 of people, covering a territory as large as the United States east of the Mississippi River, with large cities, centers of population

and centers of work—and we have occupied them all—from which we work out into the regions beyond. In that field we have all classes of people and twenty different languages spoken. Consider, also, the different forms of government in different parts of the different provinces. This is our field as it is laid out.

Now, having occupied this field in these great centers, we are separated from each other. None of these missionaries generally live within fifty miles of each other. Our districts are far separated. Our districts, except two, will be 250 miles from each other, and the centers of our districts will be 1,000 miles from each other. *There is no connectional tie in the whole country; no connectional bond.* There is no connectional tie between those districts connected with the whole of our work in India. Now, being scattered in that way, we believe that a bishop will become to us a connectional tie, would come to be a natural leader to direct every thing in proper channels. There are differences and great questions to be settled. One bishop said to me, "Brother Parker, there is no other Conference in the Connection that has so many difficult questions to settle as you have," and on many of these questions he said, "You know so much about them all, take the responsibility of deciding." Now, these being facts, we feel that a leader coming to live with us and coming to know our people would be prepared to help us in the work.

These statements make it clear that India has not had episcopal supervision in the full sense of that term, and in the nature of the case cannot have it till a bishop goes there to reside. Supervision from New York, however thoughtful, devoted, and able, is not the unifying influence, the personal leadership, that is demanded by the interests of the work. No supervision from New York could be wiser, more interested, or more enterprising than that of Bishop Harris. A leader who shall have his home on the soil of India is needed. There are now three Annual Conferences in India. No bishop resident in America can, during the brief period of a biennial visitation, "travel at large" through the vast territory covered by these Conferences so as to become personally a leader in the sense in which Bishop Foss is a leader in the North-west, Bishop Fowler on the Pacific slope, and Bishop Mallalieu in the South. Under the provision made by the last General Conference for the organization of Central Mission Conferences in any of our foreign fields where there is more than one Annual Conference or mission, or more than one form of Methodism, a Central Conference has been duly organized in India. That Central Con-

ference of India has adopted the following memorial to the next General Conference:

While we fully appreciate and are profoundly grateful for the amount of supervision our beloved bishops have been able to give us since the first visit of the sainted Bishop Thomson, in 1864, when our first Conference was organized, until the coming of our latest Bishop Ninde, who has given so much time and has been able so carefully and thoroughly to look into our work in all its branches, north and south, east and west, still we are convinced that the time has now come when, for the most efficient working of our system of Methodism in India, we need much more than a brief biennial visitation; therefore,

Resolved, That we most earnestly and respectfully memorialize the approaching General Conference to so plan and arrange the work of episcopal supervision throughout the entire Church that a bishop may come to India as a general superintendent residing in India.

No petition could be more reasonable than this. It is the united appeal of the whole of our Church in India. The representatives of our European Conferences were a unit on this question in 1884. They were all earnest in the desire that Europe might be granted a resident bishop, to be a personal bond between all the sections of our work from the North Cape to Naples. The first request of the delegate from the Liberia Conference was, that a general superintendent be sent to reside in Africa. The foreign fields themselves consider this question of the highest and most immediate importance. Their desire for resident general superintendents is not only the expression of an urgent sense of need of episcopal leadership, but also an evidence of the thoroughness of their love for the Church, and their high appreciation of its most characteristic institutions. Their view of the matter ought to be decisive, being altogether in harmony with the law of the Church.

3. Progress on this line is the true conservatism. It may be assumed that something will be done by the next General Conference to improve the methods of administration of the foreign work. No plan could be more wisely conservative than to respond to the needs and appeals of the foreign fields by giving them the full influence and help of the episcopacy, as we do to the different sections of the home field. The alternative would be the election of a missionary bishop for India, and other missionary bishops for other foreign fields.

Now, although the amended third restrictive rule permits the election of missionary bishops whose jurisdiction is limited to the missions for which they are appointed, yet the placing of our foreign fields under the administration of bishops thus limited in jurisdiction is open to some very grave objections:

1.) The connectional tie is impaired. The foreign field which is under the jurisdiction of a missionary bishop is no longer under the jurisdiction of the united episcopacy.

2.) The foreign work is not all in the missions. Much of the work in India is self-supporting; and the new work developed under Bishop Taylor in Africa is of the same character. The adjective "missionary" is certainly not felicitous when applied to a bishop whose jurisdiction includes much self-supporting work, especially if he desires to encourage the principle of self-support.

3.) A missionary bishop is in fact a diocesan bishop. In rank he is not inferior to the other bishops; and if he has not jurisdiction in their fields, neither have they in his. His work is certainly not inferior to theirs. It is not characteristic of the genius of Methodism to regard pioneer and heroic work as inferior. If our foreign territory be split up among diocesan bishops, then we shall have gone a long way toward the future splitting up of the home work in the same manner.

4.) Happily the sentiment of the Church is healthily and enthusiastically devoted to the general superintendency, and healthily opposed to the limiting of any bishop's jurisdiction, even to a continent. By a most remarkable and sudden wave of feeling, the last General Conference, after side-tracking the proposition of an episcopal residence in Africa, elected William Taylor missionary bishop for Africa. Nothing can be more certain than that the framers of the amendment to the third restrictive rule, enacted in 1856, providing for the election of missionary bishops, never had any anticipation that under that provision such a world-wide itinerant as William Taylor would be tied down to one continent. William Taylor is at present really a diocesan bishop. His episcopal jurisdiction is limited to Africa. The sentiment of the Church would enthusiastically approve the taking off of the limitation of his episcopal jurisdiction. If he were to spend only six months in a quadrennium in America, he would arrange to "travel at large" very

extensively in the home work. It is not William Taylor, but the Church, that suffers loss while any limitation rests upon the exercise of his office. Of all our bishops, could any other make as influential an episcopal tour in India as he?

Let it not be thought that the election of diocesan bishops for the foreign work would be void of influence on the work in America. Diocesan bishops are at present not favored by the great body of the Church for either the foreign or the home field. But if the plan of diocesan bishops for the foreign field becomes popular and prevalent, there will be a steady drift in the same direction here at home. There is a fundamental and immeasurable difference between the placing of episcopal residences here or there and the drawing of the lines of episcopal districts. When we put diocesan bishops in the foreign fields we limit the general superintendency to America; and when we get started on the policy of limiting and dividing the episcopacy it is not easy to tell where we will stop. Can a missionary bishop be moved from one field to another by the General Conference at the end of a quadrennium? Doubtless he can, for to change the field, the district, of a bishop whose jurisdiction is limited is not contrary to the third restrictive rule. If the General Conference should get a taste of the pleasure of making appointments for bishops, it might like to go into the business on a large scale. There are many who would like to have the home territory divided into episcopal districts, and the bishops appointed to them for four years respectively. If we pursue the diocesan plan in the foreign fields we immediately impair the sphere of the unity and power of the general superintendency, and we may end by destroying it.

The placing of episcopal residences for general superintendents in our great foreign fields is the reverse of radical or revolutionary. It limits no bishop's jurisdiction. It protects every interest involved and endangers none. It is conservative of the unity of the Methodist episcopacy at home as well as abroad. It will tend to increase the hold of the general superintendency on the admiration and the heart of the Church. That this has been the effect of the distribution of episcopal residences throughout the different portions of the United States all will acknowledge. Our foreign work is too

much regarded as an ornamental charity. When we become fully in earnest for the world's conversion there will be no need of urging the propriety and importance of the residence of bishops in foreign fields. A general superintendent's residence in India would be worth more to the success of our Church there than the doubling of the appropriations for our mission in that land. Moreover, episcopal leadership in the foreign fields would increase, as nothing else could, the enthusiasm of the home churches in the missionary cause and their contributions for it. Let us see a great missionary and a great bishop in one person, and wherever he moves, whether in India, or Africa, or Europe, or America, his influence on the evangelistic zeal of the Church will be inspiring in the highest degree.

The time will come when the Methodist Episcopal Church in one foreign country after another will seek for local autonomy. That time has not yet come, and there are no signs of its near approach. The Methodist Episcopal form of church government is the best adapted to the work of evangelization of any that the world has yet seen. It is at once the firmest and the most flexible, the best centralized and the most diffusive; it is an ecclesiastical perpetual motion, and the spirit of life is in the wheels. Our foreign conferences are loyal to that system. They ask for the fullest and most intimate episcopal supervision. They are an integral part of the Church, and claim the full measure of its privileges. They expect to be affiliated with us as Episcopal Methodists after India and China and Africa shall have each its own General Conference. The whole world is not as wide now as the American Continent was fifty years ago. Let us cling to our general superintendency. Let us continue on the line of putting the residences of our general superintendents where they are most needed, whether at home or abroad. Let us beware of limiting the jurisdiction of Methodist bishops by territorial lines, even though they be the shores of a continent. The unity and omnipresence of the general superintendency are both essential to the integrity of our system. Preserve the general superintendency unimpaired, and the world is our parish; and in every great division of that parish let us place the homes of the great leaders of our triumphant corps of Immanuel's army. J. E. C. Sawyer.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

ETHICS AND ÆSTHETICS.

In the *New Princeton Review* the author of a paper on Lord Byron says, "In thinking of *Don Juan* we should do what Dr. Johnson recommended —'Clear our minds of cant.'" If by "cant" this writer means hypocritical sentiment, one need not object to his advice; but if he uses it to designate that censure which Christian morality and true religious feeling move one to pronounce upon an immoral book, then his use of the term is misapplied. A truly Christian man cannot "clear his mind" of that ethical repugnance which the reading of a bad book begets, except by doing violence to his moral sense—by throwing dust upon his moral perceptions. And this he dare not do lest he should incur guilt. It is presumed, however, that the writer cited above would not accept this interpretation of the term. He probably takes it for granted that one may hold the corrupt tendencies of his heart in such abeyance as to enjoy the æsthetic qualities of an immoral book, such as *Don Juan* confessedly is, without doing himself any serious injury. Perhaps this is possible to men in whom the intellectual dominates the passional; to men who can read as critics, and at the same time hate even "the garment spotted by the flesh." But is it so to ordinary readers? Is it safe, is it right, is it truthful to say to the reading public generally, that it is not morally dangerous to wade through pools of immoral conceptions in order to gratify their æsthetic tastes? If immoral thought, made attractive by being clothed in beautiful style, be a moral poison, the Christian conscience can give none but a negative reply to this inquiry. Yet it may, perhaps, be worth while to note the utterances of certain speakers at a late meeting of the "Milwaukee Literary School," which may be accepted as representing the opinion of the *New Princeton* reviewer, and as indicating the growth of a disposition, in certain literary circles, to popularize the reading of books which are as ethically defective as they are artistically beautiful.

At a meeting of that school, at which Goethe and his writings were formally discussed, Professor Snyder, speaking of Goethe's *Elective Affinities*, said:

> Pray, what is a work of art unless it tells you something? . . . Grown people must have a work of flesh and blood, which shows all the temptations of flesh and blood, with their consequences. That gives us a book which means something.

Following the professor, Mrs. M. A. Shorey, whose essay on this book was under discussion, observed.

> I believe there are some things in the world which are not, and never can be made, or are not likely to be made, fit subjects for art. But there are many things

that are morbid, unwholesome, and immoral in the human life, that, when treated by an artist who has in his soul a lofty idea which he carries along with his treatment of the subject, and which has grown out of his actual experience—that experience being the source of his realistic power—then any unwholesome subject in morals may be treated; and that is precisely what Goethe did.

Professor W. T. Harris sustained these opinions of the *Elective Affinities* by saying:

The most wonderful thing in the art-form of this novel is, the exhaustiveness with which it treats the subject in all its possible phases. . . . Goethe takes it in its wholeness and presents it to us. . . . What is our conclusion about this novel? We have all heard of its immorality. But Goethe asserted that it is the only literary work he ever wrote that had a moral purpose. It is interesting to inquire, perhaps, what the critic calls immoral. He thinks, perhaps, Goethe should have come out, taken off his hat, and said at every opportunity to the people, "Now, my friends, this is very wrong indeed, and it ought not to go on." This is not the Bible method of teaching morality. The Bible shows to you immoral characters, and it shows their evil deeds coming back upon them, so that they get the fruit of their own doings. And Goethe lets those who do not conquer their elective affinities, in this novel, go down.

The reader, it is presumed, knows that Goethe's *Elective Affinities* is a story of lawless love and its tragic consequences. It describes in minute detail the genesis and development of illicit affections in its four principal characters. In the above extracts it is claimed that such delineations of immoral conduct are justifiable in a work of art, that is, in a novel or poem, provided the writer's pen is guided by an ethical purpose. The situations portrayed may be immoral, the author's ethical sentiment concealed, yet, because the former are true to the realities of human life, their artistic presentation is right, provided the wrong-doers are made to "go down" at the end of the tale.

These opinions, thus frankly expressed, are, as intimated above, widely prevalent among many who, in their own opinion, constitute the "literary world." Assuming with a scarcely concealed arrogance the perfection of their own æsthetic tastes and the authority of their literary and moral judgments, such critics sneeringly deride Christian moralists, who insist that highly wrought realistic descriptions of the working of sensual passions and of immoral actions are as pernicious in literature as is the nude in sculpture and painting. These parties defend the doctrine of the unspeakable Zola, who teaches that the literary artist "should work upon characters, passions, human and social facts, as the physicist and chemist work with inorganic bodies—as the physiologist works with living organisms." Consistently with this theory many of them commend that writer's unsavory novels, as they also do those of Eugene Sue, Ouida, Count Tolstoi, Smollett, Fielding, Richardson, etc. In the same spirit they accept the brilliant products of a poet's genius as an ample atonement for the immorality of his verses. And they regard as literary dolts those who, in writing of Byron, Shelley, or Burns, express regret that the beautiful in their productions is deeply shaded by so much that is immoral, and therefore offensively unæsthetic.

In all this these critics write as if it were not an indestructible fact

that, as George W. Curtis says of human life, "the true beauty" of any literary production, be it poem or novel, "lies in its morality." They do not recognize the truth, which even Goethe perceived but did not permit to govern either his life or his pen, that "without the ethical element the actual is the low, the vulgar, the gross." Neither do they comprehend another truth strongly and beautifully put by Sidney Lanier, that

> The greatest work has always gone hand in hand with the most fervent moral purpose. . . . The requirement has been from time immemorial that wherever there is contest as between artistic and moral beauty, unless the moral side prevail, all is lost. . . . He who has not yet perceived how artistic and moral beauty are convergent lines which run back into a common ideal origin, and who therefore is not afire with moral beauty just as with artistic beauty, . . . he is not yet the great artist.

But these defenders of the right of the novelist to "treat any unwholesome subject in morals" claim that such subjects are morally treated if the artist has "in his soul a lofty idea which he carries along with his treatment of the subject." What Mrs. Shorey means by this sentimental phrase is shown by her added remark that "this is precisely what Goethe did" in his *Elective Affinities*.

"Precisely what Goethe did" is thus stated by Professor Harris—"Goethe lets those who do not conquer their elective affinities in this novel go down." Hence these æsthetic critics understand the moral treatment of delineations of immoral conduct to consist, not in moral reprobation of the wrong actions as they transpire, but in simply letting the wrong doers "go down" when the drama of their crime is played out! On this principle one might claim that in such records of crime as *The Newgate Calendar* and *The Police Gazette* immoral conduct is morally treated, because the criminals of whom they treat are finally disposed of by the executioner's cord or by being placed behind the gratings of a state prison! Yet these works are more read by criminals than by the virtuous classes. The latter turn from them with moral disgust; the former feed upon them with the relish begotten by a depraved appetite. The "going down" of the victims of vice has less influence on the fears of men wedded to evil than the accounts of their daring careers have on their passion to excel in criminal achievements.

There is an ill-concealed scorn in Professor Harris's assertion, cited above, that the Bible method of teaching morality is not by saying that bad acts are bad, but by showing the deeds of immoral character bringing forth their appropriate fruits. He claims, therefore, that Goethe's method of treating vice is identical with that of Holy Scripture.

That this is a libel on God's word goes without saying. Every Bible reader knows that in its pages sin is branded as sin by whomsoever committed, as when it says of David's base treatment of Uriah and Bathsheba that it "displeased the Lord." He also knows that in Holy Writ sinful acts are described with a brevity which is as remarkable as the graphic force of its terse descriptions. There is no possibility of mistaking what the condemned act is. Yet its details are never dramatically

drawn out. The play and interplay of motive, temptation, and passional conflict are not so depicted as to captivate the imagination, and to call into activity sensations and passions analogous to those possessed by the persons it designates and condemns. Thus the Saviour tersely says of the prodigal son's vicious career, he "wasted his substance with riotous living," and puts this further statement concerning him into the mouth of the elder son: he "hath devoured thy living with harlots." Compare these comprehensive yet sufficiently suggestive words with the *Don Juan* of Byron, or with any story of the career of a man of the world by a writer of the school of Zola or Ouida, and it is at once apparent that to justify Goethe's *Elective Affinities* by pleading the methods of Scripture is to set up a plea which is both false and wicked. The offensive feature in Goethe's work is precisely that which is every-where absent from Holy Scripture. He describes the genesis and working of unlawful love with a skill that fascinates the imagination while keeping its criminality in the back-ground. He invests his characters with some charming qualities, and places them in such situations and under such necessitated natural conditions as excuse, if they do not wholly justify, the immorality of their emotions and the guilt of their desires and actions. Hence he moves his readers to pity where they ought to condemn. He disposes them to blame the law of marriage rather than the affections which give birth to the adulterous passions that culminate in a very sensational tragedy. The effect on the reader who surrenders himself to the fascination of the book is to put him in sympathy with the guilty parties, and to beget emotions kindred to those of its self-corrupted and mutually corrupting characters. And this effect is not obliterated by its tragic conclusion, by which Goethe chiefly, if not solely, expresses his "moral purpose" in writing it. This the reader regards as accidental, as something that he would have escaped had he been placed in a like situation. The ethical quality of the conduct described not being emphasized, he is not made to feel the retributive character of its tragic ending. He therefore rises from the perusal of the book a more or less demoralized man.

M. Taine, writing of the moral indignation caused in England by the publication of Byron's *Don Juan*, denounces that popular feeling as "puritanic prudery," and defiantly asks, "Can the proprieties prevent beauty from being beautiful? Will you condemn a picture of Titian for its nudity?" By these queries, put in the spirit of a man conscious that he is trampling upon sound moral feeling, he expresses the argument of many literary sentimentalists who, defending poetry and novels in which unwholesome depravities are portrayed with artistic skill, exclaim, "It is the beauty of their style and artistic construction that we admire. Their beauty affords us æsthetic pleasure, and we are not harmed by their realistic descriptions of the vices of society. Their beauty is beautiful in spite of their improprieties."

To this it may be replied, that such improprieties are subversive of the end of art, which Cousin fitly observes, is "the expression of moral beauty. . . Every work of art, whatever may be its form, small or great,

figured, sung, or uttered—every work of art, truly beautiful or sublime, throws the soul into a gentle or severe reverie that elevates it toward the Infinite." If this canon be accepted, how can books which paint vice in fascinating colors afford pure æsthetic pleasure? They express, not "moral beauty," but ethical deformity. Hence Sidney Lanier, writing of works of this class, and describing their effect on his own mind, says:

> I protest that I can read none of these books without feeling as if my soul had been in the rain, draggled, muddy, miserable. . . . They play upon life as upon a violin without a bridge, in the deliberate endeavor to get the most depressing tones possible out of the instrument. This is done under the pretense of showing us vice. . . . If I had my way with these classic books I would blot them from the face of the earth.

Now, Lanier's love of beauty was as intense as that of Keats. Yet, instead of yielding æsthetic sweetness to his highly developed sense of the beautiful, books of this sort were to him as vinegar to the teeth.

May we not, therefore, retort upon those who profess to enjoy the beautiful though it be imbedded in the mud of social vice, the already cited recommendation of Dr. Johnson, to "clear our minds of cant?" For what is it but literary cant, the insincerity of literary pride, to affirm that æsthetic delight can arise from the beautiful when thus united to vice? Does not the presentation of immoral conduct to a morally healthy mind instantly call its moral judgment into action? Does not that judgment spontaneously condemn such wrong conduct? When it sees the actors in the story deliberately sacrificing duty on the shrine of passion, as they do in Goethe's *Elective Affinities*, Byron's *Don Juan*, in Tolstoi's *Karenina*, and in many other works, thereby taking on ignoble characters, practicing injustice, and violating the obligations of honor, truth, and purity, does it not beget an instinctive aversion and a moral indignation so overwhelming that the charm of what is beautiful in the setting of the story cannot be enjoyed? Do not the images of immoral deeds offend the imagination, the reason, the heart? If ethical feeling be at all active in the mind of the reader, this aversion and indignation must arise within him, and, instead of being fascinated, he must indignantly recoil from such books with moral disgust, and be ready to say with Lanier, "If I had my way with these classic books I would blot them from the face of the earth." It would seem, therefore, that to talk of deriving pleasure from beauty when associated with moral misconduct is either literary cant or evidence of an ethically defective mind.

Nor is it alone the immoral book that forestalls the action of one's sense of the beautiful. If the book be moral and the author known to be immoral, one's love of the beautiful becomes as a dove wounded by the shaft of an archer. Unless, therefore, it can be said of an author that "there is nothing in his life to make one question the sincerity of his utterances, or to wonder that such beauty in the thought should fail to beautify the life," his writings, though containing much that is charming, do not satisfy one's sense of the beautiful. The charm of his thought and style no sooner begins to be felt than it is broken by its association with the

impurity of his life. But this is only further evidence that the truly beautiful and the truly good are normally so closely allied that there can be no real enjoyment of the beautiful except it be in harmony with rightly developed ethical perceptions and feelings.

In this age of many books and much reading no Christian educator or preacher can think without anxiety of the evil influence of immoral literature, especially when made attractive by the brilliant pens of men and women of genius. Mere protests against it, though not wholly unavailing, cannot keep it out of the hands of many readers. The young, especially, will seek acquaintance with it. But if a highly developed moral sense in those who read it robs it of much of its power to please and makes its immorality offensive, it follows that ethical instruction from the pulpit, in colleges, in our public schools, and in the Sunday-school may be regarded in the light of an antidote to its poisonous qualities. In truth, the materialistic spirit of the age demands for its correction a profound quickening of the national conscience, a more emphatic presentation of the ethical demands of the Gospel by the Church of to-day, especially because the influence of the literature of the New Theology is unfavorable to the broadening of men's ethical perceptions and the deepening of their ethical feeling. Instead of calling men to "behold the goodness and severity of God," as Paul did, this theology fixes public attention upon a sentimental view of his "goodness," but throws a veil over his "severity." It magnifies the divine mercy revealed in the Gospel, but fails to make conspicuous the awful fact that, even in this same Gospel, "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness." It makes the purpose of the divine administration to be, not the maintenance of justice and righteousness, but mainly the forgiveness of human sin. Thus sin being made to appear not as a terrible and ruinous evil which God regards with infinite hatred, but as a venial and temporary obstruction to human well-being, men learn to esteem it lightly, to treat it as a trifle, and to admit it into their practice with slight compunction whenever it can be made profitable to their present earthly interests. And is not the confessedly low tone of moral feeling manifest in the political, financial, business, and social life of the country traceable in part to the evil influence which the literature and preaching of this emasculated theology has already had on the national conscience?

A higher ethical cult is, therefore, the need and the duty of the hour. The ethical feeling of the people must be developed through the teaching of pure Christian doctrine concerning God and human responsibility up to the high level of the Sermon on the Mount. Such a result reached, what a marvelous change would be wrought, not alone in the sphere of literature, but also in our whole national life! In the judgment of infinite Wisdom, it is not literary cult, nor sound political economy, nor free institutions, nor commercial greatness, nor riches, nor all these combined, that can secure the true greatness of any people. It is not these things, desirable as they are in themselves as elements of

prosperity, but "righteousness, that exalteth a nation." Hence, to exclude sound ethical principles from the literature, the politics, the business, or the social life of the people is to withhold from them the salt which is essential to the preservation and perpetuity of public peace and prosperity.

THE PREACHERS' MEETING AND DR. McGLYNN—THEORIES OF HENRY GEORGE.

On Monday, the 19th of September last, Dr. McGlynn addressed the New York Methodist Preachers' Meeting, and at the conclusion of the address a resolution was passed by a majority vote recognizing his call "to a high duty," and commending his work in preaching the "fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man."

The "new crusade" of Dr. McGlynn, as it has been called, is generally supposed to coincide with the sentiments of Henry George, and the theories of the latter concerning land-ownership are supposed to be advocated by the eloquent doctor.

It is doubtless true that those theories are not favored by the Methodist preachers, and even those who voted for the resolution did not intend thereby to indorse the land theories mentioned. It cannot be that any considerable number of Methodists, whether of the clergy or the laity, assent to the agrarian doctrines of Henry George. They are, on the contrary, generally denounced as Communism in its most radical form. There is fear lest the attempt to commend the culture, gentlemanly bearing, and conscientious independence of Dr. McGlynn may be interpreted in some quarters as a sanction of the fallacies of Mr. George concerning the ownership of land.

It is quite certain that had Dr. McGlynn belonged to the Methodist itinerancy and preached the doctrines referred to he would have been dealt with as an erratic devotee, and the fallacies of Communism would not have been excused, though covered by the high-sounding designation of "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

So far as the recusant doctor has espoused the land doctrines of Henry George he will not receive aid and comfort from ministers or laymen of the Methodist Church. Those doctrines are believed to be repugnant to justice, social order, and the peace and prosperity of the community. The laws which they antagonize have existed since the foundation of our government, and the same principles are fundamental in the laws that exist in all civilized lands. There must be an upheaval of society and a reversal of the sentiments of jurists, law-makers, and writers on political economy before those laws can be changed to suit the George theories.

Considering the elements that commingle in the population of great cities it is to be deprecated that encouragement should be given to communistic doctrines, and especially that so graceful a writer as Henry George should set them forth, and so eloquent a voice as Dr. McGlynn's should

advocate them. The gloss of plausibility is spread over those doctrines in such graphic delineation and finished sentences that the unwary may be tempted to believe them, and the crowds in populous communities who have not given attention to the principles that every-where characterize the laws of civilized government may be disposed to accept them.

Mr. George makes many utterances which are true and forcible. Take this instance:

> That he who produces should have—that he who saves should enjoy—is consistent with human reason and with the natural order.*

And yet he claims that one who has invested his money in a piece of land which afterward is enhanced in value by the growth of a contiguous city appropriates the earnings of others!

> For land [as he writes] is not of that species of things to which the presumption of rightful property attaches. This does attach to things that are properly termed wealth and that are the produce of labor.†

> How ownership of land was acquired in the past can have no bearing upon the question of how we should treat land now. ‡

Again:

> It is needless to insist that property in land rests only on human enactment, which may, at any time, be changed without violation of moral law. §

1. There are no writers on political economy, nor jurists, nor judges, who have ever thus impugned the decalogue. With one accord they hold that property, including land, cannot be taken from the owner, even for public purposes, by change of the law, unless just compensation be given for it.

While it is true that land titles rest on human enactment, it is also true that the consent of all civilized nations and the practice of ages have determined the rightfulness of such enactments. Nor can there be any just distinction between the title to such property and the title to the ownership of the cattle of our neighbor, which we are, by the highest command, forbidden to covet. Time, circumstances, and the growth of a contiguous city may enhance the value of a herd of cattle, and are we to believe that such increased value is in the owner's hands the appropriation of the labor of others?

It is upon the ground of the general good that all laws concerning property are based. The public welfare has been the chief end of all human constitutions and laws. It were as safe to abolish human laws and statutory penalties against robbery, fraud, and theft as to overturn the laws that secure property rights. Such attempts would be every-where regarded as an attack upon the existence of society itself. The mature judgment of the cultivated intelligence of civilized communities has established the existence of rights of property, including the titles to land, and after centuries of experience and approval it is not probable that such judgment can be reversed unless Socialism shall become rampant,

* *Social Problems*, p. 60.
† *Answer to Argyll*, p. 49.
‡ *Answer to Argyll*, p. 51.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

and revolution and anarchy take the place of order and good government. It has often been said that to change the rules of property, without adequate compensation, is a mischievous violation of one of the elementary doctrines of political economy. Legislatures have no such power. Hence, while private ownership of land must yield to the public good, and the sovereignty of the State, under the exercise of eminent domain, may take lands for public use, yet our constitutions provide it can only be done upon payment of proper compensation to the private owner. It would be a violation of moral law to do otherwise.

No free people would intrust their rights of person or of property to blind chance, nor to the fallacies of socialists or communists, but they are careful to adopt constitutions and enact laws to secure both the one and the other; and the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind is the increasing prosperity of peoples of a constitutional government under which laws are made for the security of the rights of person and of property. Despotic rule, royal authority, and communistic theories have been, and are, subordinated to such fundamental rules and statutory regulations. Territorial jurisdiction, though originally the tenure of the State, has, for the welfare of society and the progress of civilization, been subordinated under approved rules to private ownership and inheritance, so that the prosperity of society and the march of improvement have not been impeded. Families are fixed in the homes of themselves and their fathers, and the spirit of patriotic attachment to their country goes along with their right to the ownership of their lands. They are not nomadic, as are the Indian tribes, nor are they careless of the improvement of their farms and cottage homes, as would be a promiscuous crowd each of whom, under the Henry George theory, could say,

"No foot of land do I possess."

The faith of the government and the security of the common and statute law are the bases upon which the right of private ownership rests. The history of empire is full of revolutions. There will be another revolution before that faith shall be disregarded or that security shall be broken down. The good sense of the community will gibe at the possibility of such a rupture of our social stability. We are too far removed from the Dark Ages and despotic governments to sponge away our well-tried constitutions and our improved codes of written law. Nothing better has been devised by human governments since the establishment of Christianity.

Lord Coleridge, in a late speech at Glasgow, said:

> The right of property, that is, the right to possess peaceably what you have yourself acquired, underlies all society. . . . We may assume that, as a rule, no changes in the laws of property or the condition of its enjoyment are likely to be made, or ought to be made, except either with the consent of persons affected by the change or with compensation if their assent is not given.

2. Every man is entitled, as Henry George admits, to the fruit of his own labor. This in his *Social Problem*, p. 108, is fully asserted. How do his land theories comport with this principle of natural justice?

He says in another place: *

I hold that the land was not created for one generation to dispose of, but as a dwelling-place for all generations; that the men of the present are not bound by any grants of land the men of the past may have made, and cannot grant away the rights of the men of the future. . . . I hold that the titles to the ownership of land which the government of the United States is now granting are of no greater moral validity than the land-titles of the British Isles, which rest historically upon the forcible spoliation of the masses.

Now, to procure many of the parcels of these lands industrious men have invested their hard-earned savings, and in numerous instances have executed mortgages for part of the purchase money. The mortgages have frequently been taken by other men who have earned by the labor of their hands the money thus invested. Their wives and children look to this security for their future support, and the widows and children of the purchaser look to the granted lands for theirs. What does Henry George propose? Will he treat this land as property, and thus save to the earners their rightful means? No; these titles are to be extinguished, for they began ages ago in "the forcible spoliation of the masses!" Let these lands, he says, be transferred to the State, and let the State lease them for rent to the best bidder! This is his panacea for existing poverty!

The language of the Duke of Argyll seems to be quite an appropriate comment:

He [Henry George] preaches systematically not only the high privilege, but the positive duty, of repudiation. He is not content with urging that no more bits of unoccupied land should ever be sold, but he insists upon it that the ownership of every bit already sold should be resumed without compensation to the settler who has bought it, who has spent upon it years of labor, and who from first to last has relied on the security of the State and the honor of its government. There is no mere practice of corruption which has ever been alleged against the worst administrative body in any country that can be compared in corruption with the desolating dishonor of this teaching.†

Here is some of the teaching thus denounced:

We should satisfy the law of justice, we should meet all economic requirements, by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all land public property, and letting it out to the highest bidders in lots to suit, under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private right to improvements.‡

I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land. The first would be unjust; the second, needless. Let the individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call *their* land. Let them continue to call it *their* land. Let them buy and sell and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. *It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent.* §

What nonsense is this! How can those who now hold it still retain "their land," if it is to be rented by the State to the highest bidder? And how can it be maintained that the procedure is not confiscation, when the "shell" only is left, and the communists get the "kernel?" Should valuable lands be thus rented how long would it be before they were denuded of their produce-bearing quality in the hands of unscrupulous

* *Answer to Argyll*, p. 51.
† *Prophet of San Francisco*, p. 23.
‡ *Progress and Poverty*, p. 291.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

and careless tenants? And what sort of a tenant might the highest bidder be?

Mr. George maintains that private property in land is inconsistent with the best use of it. His philosophy fails to show how the present owners of land will not be robbed of their rightful property should his proposed scheme succeed; nor does it clearly appear why robbery of a land-owner is less a crime than forcibly taking the property of a communist. If the land-owner came honestly by his property and paid value for it, there is no principle in law or morals that can sanction a procedure to forcibly take away his ownership without compensation. There is under our law civil equality, and those who clamor for innovation, with nothing to lose, have before them the same methods of prudence, economy, and industry for success in life as have been beneficial to many of these land-owners.

3. Vivid pictures of the poorer classes are drawn by Mr. George, as if the condition of poverty was the want of the particular lands of the land-owners! How much of want and poverty are due to indolence, intemperance, vice, and crime is not mentioned. And whether if there were a present division of "lots to suit," among all classes, there would be an abolition of poverty, while indolence, intemperance, vice, and crime continue, it would be interesting to inquire. Beggars and tramps would doubtless multiply if the scheme suggested by Mr. George should ever be adopted. At present it is well known that indigence and want are relieved in a great measure by the liberal bestowments of the land-owners through many charitable institutions. Was David mistaken when he said: "I . . . now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread?"

4. There is not opportunity at present to pursue the subject, but any thoughtful man in reading the books of Henry George will see many objections to his agrarian theories. Considerations will arise touching the danger of the attempt to sweep away existing bulwarks of civilized society, and the opening of the door to communistic tendencies, that may plunge our peaceful land into the horrors of socialism and anarchy. It should rather be the purpose of those who would benefit the masses to seek to strengthen the obligations of honesty and of love to our neighbor. The preservation of social order and morality, the persuasions to industry and temperance, respect for the laws and the rights of property, are better panaceas for poverty than all the communistic remedies that have been broached. A land-owner is not an oppressor; in general, he is a benefactor; and those who would crusade against him are not called "to a high duty."

The constitutions and laws of this land—in the particular now assailed by Communists—were established before such theorists came here. The people have been prosperous, and thousands of the poor have risen from indigence to opulence under the fostering beneficence of our institutions. Let us frown upon all attempts to overthrow them. E. L. F.

SENTIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY.

The organization of the laboring classes for the purpose of redressing their alleged grievances by means of strikes, "boycotts," and political action, is a fact so pregnant with dangerous possibilities that no Christian citizen can afford to treat it with contempt. And the more closely he studies it in the light of past history and of the law of human brotherhood, the more seriously he will ask himself, "How ought I to feel toward it, and what ought to be my action with respect to it? Ought I to promote it, or to do what I may to hinder it?"

This question of duty, the duty of both the individual and the Church, compels the further inquiry, What is the significance of this formidable array of the industrial proletariat against the more prosperous classes? Is it a protest against real grievances? Is it a crusade of sentiment begotten by extravagant and false conceptions of the practical benefits derivable from the democratic principles which underlie our governmental system? Or is it a providential movement, by which Christ is using an outburst of selfish human passion to compel the attention of his Church to the duty of making more determined efforts to win the working classes to his service? They belong to him, for he has redeemed them. They need him. And such is their ever-increasing number, and such the strength of their influence for evil, that his Church must either win them to the truth or be shorn of her influence over the lower orders of our population through their antagonism. May we not then, if we listen attentively, hear His still small voice whispering amid the clamors of these disturbed classes, and saying to his people, "These toilers belong to me. Bid them come to me, therefore, and I will give them rest?"

Is it said that these restless workmen have some real grievances? Unquestionably many of them have. Labor is sometimes, perhaps often, unjustly treated; but its wrongs are not now what they were in the dead past, when it had vastly more to endure than it has at present. For, let workmen say what they will, they cannot, if intelligent, be blind to the fact that during the last half century the spirit of justice and kindness, begotten by Christianity, has penetrated the business world so far as to sensibly ameliorate the condition of the working classes. When, in the history of humanity, was the workman so well paid, so comfortably housed, clothed, and fed as now? When was his manhood so respectfully recognized and treated as at present? When or where had he such opportunities to rise above his condition as he has in America to-day? Is it not a palpable fact that, if the working classes would lay aside their vices, live sober, industrious lives, and form economical habits, a very large proportion of them would be able to pass their days not only in happy ignorance of the miseries of poverty, but also in the possession of such comforts as would make their lives truly enjoyable? Nevertheless, with all this in their favor, it need not be denied that the lot of many is still hard—harder than it need be, or than it would be if the parties who own our mines, manage our great railways, operate our manufacturing establishments, and otherwise

employ many laborers, were obedient, as they ought to be, to the great law of human brotherhood. In so far, therefore, as working-men and women are overworked, unfairly paid, or inhumanly treated, they have grievances which demand redress. And with their desires and endeavors to obtain such redress every Christian citizen and every Church ought to sympathize, provided always that the means they employ and the measures they seek are judicious, morally right, and in harmony with sound social and political principles.

Unfortunately for themselves, as well as for the community, these labor organizations in protesting against their real and imaginary wrongs have given place to a vexed and angry temper of mind. In resenting injustice, they have become unjust themselves. Resisting oppression, they have become oppressors. By dwelling on what they judge to be their due, they have become so morally confused as to be unable to distinguish between what is and what is not due them. They have consequently set up selfism as their standard of moral judgment. What they desire is, their false ideal of right; and opposition to their desires they brand as injustice to themselves. Animated by these confused ideas of right and wrong, they have come to "view their most wanton acts of injustice to others as resistance to other people's injustice to them."

Let him who questions the fairness of these statements look at their "strikes," their "boycotts," their persecution of non-union workmen, their insistance that no workman shall perform more than a prescribed quantity of work in a day, and that a minimum quantity; their claim for equal wages for labor of unequal value; their dictation to employers respecting the employment of non-union men, the number of their apprentices, and the wages they shall pay; their demand that the pay for eight hours' work shall be the same as is now paid for ten hours; and their proposal to secure a law taxing land up to its full rental value for the benefit of landless men. These are their favorite measures, their common practices. And every one of them is rooted in rank injustice to others. They are all indefensible at the bar of an intelligent moral judgment. They are the outcome of a blind, angry selfism, resenting real or fancied injustice by inflicting wanton acts of injustice upon others.

Thus it appears, that while the proletariat agitation has its genesis in an attempt to redress its grievances, it has already become a crusade of sentiment. An exaggerated sense of wrong possesses it. But to conceal its real animus, and give it an aspect of reasonableness, its leading agitators are teaching their misguided followers that their measures, actual and probable, are justified by the principle of equality asserted in the Declaration of Independence. These leaders misinterpret the axiomatic truth in that noble document, that all men are "created equal," by affirming that it implies every man's right to occupy and use as much land as he deems necessary for his subsistence, albeit it is obviously clear that this axiom does not touch the question of right to property of any kind; that it does not even affirm the equality of men physically, morally, or intellectually; but only that every man has an equal right "to life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness." But their false interpretation of a great principle intensifies the working-man's sense of injustice, and strengthens his purpose to secure redress through organization and the attainment of political power. That he does not comprehend the meaning of the axiom invoked by his teachers in apparent justification of his efforts is made evident by the injustice of the measures he has adopted—measures which deny to his non-union fellow-craftsmen and to his employers the very same liberty and free pursuit of happiness which he claims for himself. By this denial he cuts from beneath his own feet the platform on which all human liberty, including his own, of course, reposes. Hence his crusade is not inspired by a principle intelligently accepted, but, as already observed, by blind, passionate purpose to seek retaliation for grievances which he greatly exaggerates, and which can only be removed by the triumph of Christian benevolence over the sordid greed of men who worship mammon and despise humanity.

As this sentiment is so largely the product of false theories, based on wrong interpretations of axiomatic truth, it must be checkmated by the propagation of sound social principles. Unlinked to reason, sentiment is blind. When it is inspired by clear views of truth, it is a spur to duty. When it is the effervesence of false opinions it becomes unreasoning passion, reckless of every thing save the selfish ends of the man in whose breast it rages. The French Revolution, as the reader knows, had its germs in Rousseau's sentimental presentations of his theories concerning "the pristine equality of mankind and the social contract." And in the sentiment begotten by the superficial and false sociology of the times we have a social force, a growing passion, sufficiently dangerous to move thinking men to earnest and kind endeavors to correct the erroneous notions which are in part its springs. Men must be taught from the pulpit and by the press that the doctrine of human equality is simply that of equal right to the free use of one's capacity for the acquirement, through honest industry, of the means of subsistence and happiness. Each man's share of the common gifts of God must therefore be determined, not by communistic laws, but by individual ability and diligence.

The attention of the disaffected working-man should also be called to the stubborn fact that much of the discomfort of his class arises out of thriftless use of wages, or self-indulgent habits. He must be made to look at many of his own craft who, with no better sources of income than himself, have purchased land and become the owners of comfortable homes, while others, owing to constant expenditures for tobacco and strong drink, and to frequent days of voluntary idleness, are living in hired, scantily furnished tenements. It surely cannot be difficult to wring from a man of ordinary intelligence a frank admission that much of the poverty of the poor is not chargeable to their employers nor to society, but to their own self-indulgence and unthrifty habits.

With respect to the oppression of working-men by covetous capitalists, it must be shown that its removal cannot be suddenly secured by legal enactments, but must be overcome by the gradual operation of that spirit

of justice and benevolence which is both the beauty and the glory of Christianity. As noted above, that spirit has already wrought a great amelioration in the standing and condition of laboring men. It has, indeed, expressed itself in laws forbidding many abuses once generally prevalent. It is still working its way with ever-increasing energy into the heart of society, creating a public opinion in favor of workingmen which the most avaricious capitalists dare not openly defy. It shows itself also in the disposition of very many employers to pay as liberal wages as their profits fairly permit; in the voluntary annual distribution of a portion of their net gains among their *employés* made by not a few business firms, and in the favor with which some influential business men regard the co-operative principle. On every side there is evidence that Christ, the truest friend and guide the poor man ever had or can have, is moving mankind through his Gospel toward that practical recognition of human brotherhood which is destined to destroy both the form and spirit of caste, and to make rich and poor one in him. Not that poverty will ever be wholly destroyed; for so long as men are naturally unequal in capacity they will be of unequal value to society, and therefore unequally rewarded for their labor. Out of this inevitable difference the distinction between rich and poor will perpetually arise. Disease, inherited weakness, indolent habits, and debilitating vices will also cause many to be more or less dependent, and therefore poor. Consequently, it is idle dreaming to talk of annihilating poverty, or of compelling men by law to pay equal prices for unequal service. Nevertheless, it is no dream, but a certitude of faith, that as Christianity triumphs the spirit of human love will be so tender and so wide-reaching as to take thoughtful care of the helpless poor, to dethrone selfism from its supremacy in the business world, and to establish the reign of justice, truth, and benevolence over every mart of trade, every exchange, and every business organization in the land. Under the reign of these benign principles the working classes will have all their real grievances amply redressed.

To this suggestion, the impatient haste of labor organizations replies that the processes of Christianity are too slow. "We cannot wait," they respond with unreasoning scorn. "We must have the redress we seek at once, and we will compel it by political action, and through such changes in the laws as will free us without delay from the control of capitalists and employers." But these replies are the offspring, not of reason and reflection, but of excited, angry feeling. Counting their formidable rolls of membership, they feel the confidence which is born of strength, and are bent on achieving immediate results without regard to their social consequences. Foolish confidence! It mistakes might for right. It looks to the machinery of law for results which are unattainable except by growth of character. A remark by Bodin, an eminent French lawyer, is pertinent to this consciousness of strength: "The mightier a man is," he observes, "the more justly and temperately he ought to behave himself toward all men." And what is true of a mighty man is equally true of an organized body of men, whose might is more in

their numbers than in the wisdom of their measures. Might, to be beneficial to any class, must be guided by wisdom and justice, since when allied with injustice it is gigantic wickedness, which can work nothing but evil.

To bridle the hastiness of these organizations their members need to be taught the lesson which God has written on every page of the history of humanity—that the progress of society is not secured by sudden precipitations, but by the gentle processes of slow growth. Therefore, says Bodin,

> We ought, in the government of a well-ordered commonwealth, to imitate and follow the great God of nature, who in all things proceedeth easily and by little and little; who of a little seed causeth to grow a tree for height and greatness right admirable, and yet for all that insensibly.

Von Logau expresses this grand truth by saying:

> "Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
> Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all."

Hence, unless man sets his mills at the same rate of speed at which Jehovah runs the mills of his providence, he may be sure that they will be dashed to pieces in their inevitable collision. Therefore, though it may be possible under our democratic system for labor organizations to bring about important and speedy changes in the laws, yet such changes, being inconsiderately made, and not in the interest of the whole people, but of one class only, may introduce such disturbances into the body politic as will bring down ruin upon the heads of the very class which procured them for its own special benefit.

In seeking legislation for their own exclusive benefit our labor organizations betray a selfism which bodes not good, but injury, to society. As Lord Bacon remarks:

> It is a poor center of a man's actions—himself. . . . The referring of all to a man's self is a desperate evil in . . . a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands he crooketh them to his own ends; which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of the State.

Again he says:

> It is good not to try experiments in States except the necessity be urgent, or the utility be evident, and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation.

These words are nuggets of political wisdom, which deserve the attention not alone of labor reformers, but also of citizens who, without due consideration, are inclined to bring their political party into sympathy with them: This was done by those legislators who voted for the Saturday afternoon holiday and for the so-called "labor day," both of which, the former especially, have already proved to be "eccentric to the ends of the State," that is, to the general good. Who, then, can measure the dimensions of the evils that the embodiment in laws of the principles and measures of the labor organizations would produce? As to the selfism of their false principles there can be but one opinion. They are deduced, not from comprehensive study of the interests of society, but from the habit which Bacon calls "a desperate evil;" namely, the habit of referring all things

to the desires and supposed needs of their class. Instead of thinking and acting as "citizens of the republic," they think and act as members of the laboring class, whose interests they regard as supreme. And many of them have become so possessed by this notion as to look on the propertied classes as parties having no rights which they feel bound to respect. All this is unfortunate, and prejudicial to their cause and prospects. It is undemocratic, anti-American, anti-Christian, and shows how deeply the movement is rooted, not in intelligent desire to promote the general good, but in the selfism of human nature.

In dealing with this proletariat agitation the Churches have a duty to perform. In their relation to it they represent the Christ, and are bound to treat it with reference to the end for which they exist—the salvation of men, especially of the poor. Seeing that it is partly based on selfish sentiment they cannot unqualifiedly sympathize with it; but inasmuch as it has some real grievances they can and ought to do what may rightly be done to redress such grievances. As to its sentiment, it needs to be noted that sentiment cannot be changed by direct and dogmatic antagonism, which only intensifies it. But it may be softened and even melted by awakening an opposite feeling. If, therefore, the Churches, while condemning the unwise and unjust measures of these agitated classes, set themselves earnestly to their divinely appointed task of so teaching the doctrine of human brotherhood as to promote in the propertied classes, especially in those who call Christ their Master, a disposition to further that amelioration of the condition of the lower orders which Christianity has already so beautifully begun, they may beget in them a sentiment of gratitude and affection which will go far toward displacing their existing selfish sentiment. That the best and truest human friends of the working classes are in the Churches is undeniable. That some church members are lacking in thoughtful, benevolent, and just consideration for their *employés* is, alas! too true. Let the tenderly charitable and just spirit of the Churches bring these inconsiderate brethren up to the true standard of human brotherhood; let them be faithfully taught that their capacity to acquire wealth is God's gift endowing them with power to become ministering angels to humanity, and that when it is consecrated to the base, selfish, and foolish end of accumulating a vast fortune for the sake of the prestige, the show, and the social position usually conceded to the owners of wealth, it is shamefully prostituted. By such teaching, and by identifying themselves with every judicious measure for the moral and material elevation of the laboring classes, the churches can most assuredly make it too apparent to be truthfully contradicted, that the love of Him who was himself "a poor man, and who died for poor men," possesses them; and also that there is in them a vision

> "Of justice, mercy, wisdom, tenderness
> To wrong and pain, and knowledge of its cure;
> And these embodied in a Christly form
> That best transmits them, pure as first received,
> From God above them to mankind below."

Standing in this beautiful attitude of practical sympathy with the physical necessities of the working multitude, the Churches, aided by Heaven's richest spiritual gifts, will succeed perhaps as never before in drawing multitudes even from the lowest deeps of poverty into the fold of their Lord. In that glad day, come when it may, the social antagonisms which now disturb the peace and awaken the anxieties of the propertied classes will, if not at once wholly overcome, gradually melt away. For Christian love will prove itself to be the restorer of social order and the bond of brotherhood.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE JESUITS IN BRAZIL are the source of much trouble and anxiety to the German Protestants, who have emigrated thither in great numbers. Their expulsion from Germany resulted in the transfer of many of them to German settlements in foreign lands, and a well organized society, with abundant means, is now in Brazil, with *padres* who know how to effect their purpose in the press and the confessional.

The province most annoyed by their presence is that of *Rio Grande do Sul*, in southern Brazil. For a long series of years now they have been working among a German population of not less than one hundred thousand souls. Most of the German parishes, in the cities as in the country, have fallen into their hands, and they have also succeeded in disturbing the friendly relations that formerly existed between the two confessions (Lutheran and Reformed), and have stirred up the Catholics to the point of fanaticism. Their influence in the matter of mixed marriages has been especially fatal, which can now be solemnized only by a priest of the State Church, and the danger of annihilation of the Protestant congregations is now only averted by the self-sacrificing activity and the greatest exertion of the Protestant clergy. Indeed, there are now many congregations in large and isolated districts where no evangelical pastor appears. This is partly caused by the want of energetic and practical workers, but more still by the need of money to bear the expenses of itinerating preachers.

The peculiar mission of the Jesuits in Brazil is the elementary school; and as their treasury seems always full they are able to establish schools wherever to them seems most desirable, and to erect buildings adapted to their purposes. About twenty years ago the Jesuits laid the foundation of an institution in San Leopoldo; and with the large appropriations which come to them from Germany and Italy they have yearly increased and improved their buildings till now they are veritable school palaces; and in a few years they will undoubtedly be in possession of an entire quarter of the city. As there are about twenty-five of the order engaged here, together with a number of "Christian brothers," they are always able to put the right man in place, and make the most of the pupils in-

trusted to their care. In the absence of advantages for the Protestant population, and also, alas! from the indifference of the many, it is not surprising that many of them send their sons to the Jesuits and their daughters to the "Sisters" for their education. This field is so propitious for *propaganda* that it is not surprising that in the course of their studies many of the pupils acquire the desire to change their faith. Already quite a number of those who have gone forth from the institution have become teachers, and have been sent by the government into the German colonies as teachers. In this precarious condition a call for help has gone forth from the "Evangelical Association for the Protestant Germans in America," and a faithful agent is now in the Fatherland soliciting aid for the distressed Protestants.

THE NEW FRENCH SCHOOL LAW compels the government to secularize all the public schools in the country within three years. There are many places in which the majority of the parish council confide the parish schools to the members of religious orders, and quite as many places where, against the undoubted majority, the council dismisses the "congregationalists" and installs—by force, sometimes—the teacher appointed by the prefect. For some time, however, the secularizing of the elementary schools in the parishes by which they have not been expressly demanded has been effected with less noise and with more gentleness toward the ecclesiastical elements. The latter, therefore, now begin to cherish the hope to obtain in the Chambers, at least, if not from the Government, the privilege of retaining the congregational schools now in operation; and they also hope that before the expiration of the term the school-law concerning the secularizing of the schools may be suspended.

But the Government will scarcely be able to grant this wish without the most serious suspicions as to its relations with the Conservative members of the Right; for the legally prescribed and organized exclusion of the church and religious education from the public school is regarded by the Radicals as the greatest Republican triumph, together with compulsory school attendance and gratuitous instruction. If, therefore, the present Minister of Public Instruction, who seems desirous of fully carrying out the law, still remains minister, and no special causes intervene, the new school ordinance will be executed in the entire land before the expiration of three years. And, moreover, in the recent budget estimate for the Ministry of Instruction, for the year 1888, the State appropriation for the expense of the primary schools was reduced from fourteen to ten millions. According to the instructions of the minister, as the law provides, every parish where gratuitous instruction is introduced must make up the deficit caused by the abolition of school dues. The State is to provide only for the poorer parishes, that are clearly not able to bear the burden.

FROM ITALY there comes a reply of jeers and contempt to the intimations of the leader of the German Ultramontanes that they will restore the temporal power of the Pope. The *Popolo Romano*, the organ of the Italian

Liberals, sends to Windhorst and his colleagues the following words: "As to the German crusade, it is really a pity that they delay it, for it would aid in reviving the Roman Carnival, now in a moribund state. And as to our yielding to the pressure of foreign states, Dr. Windhorst may rest assured that as long as Italy has a soldier, a cannon, or a gun-boat it will present a bold front, not only to the pressure, bgt also to the armed coalition, of the mightiest States. But these have very different matters to attend to from the temporal power of the Pope. In the resolutions and demands of the Clericals there remains but one thing that has in any measure a positive character, and that is the right of these gentlemen to present such demands—a right which, as far as we are concerned, they may continue to claim to the end of their days."

Now these are very plain words, and let him who would believe that they carry no weight since the death of Depretis look over the columns of the *Riforma*, the special organ of the present chief of the cabinet, Minister Crispi, and he will there see, in addition to the *fortiter in re* of the *Popolo Romano*, also the *suaviter in modo* of the present regime. This sheet, in discussing the papal brief to Cardinal Rampolla, called attention to the fact that nothing but the existing law of papal guarantee protected the writer in the Vatican from legal prosecution. For said brief was clearly a violation of the Italian press-law as to threats of violence against constitutional order. But the attorney-general of Italy was wise enough to let the matter rest.

One end, at least, has been obtained by this. The good-natured people of Italy, who were tempted to believe, by the papal allocution, in a reconciliation between the Quirinal and the Vatican, are now more than ever convinced that the Papacy means to remain on a war-footing with Italy. And therefore the earnest and dignified language of King Humbert in his telegram to Cardinal Agostini, patriarch of Venice, who had begged him to withhold his signature from the law concerning a war tax. In regard to the resolutions of the German Clericals in Treves, the Italian press puts the question: "What would the German government do if this ultramontane body should demand German territory for the temporal rule of the Pope?" It is well that the German pilgrimage of the papal jubilee is postponed, for they would receive a cold welcome now.

The Wave of Emigration from the Fatherland continues to increase the anxiety of the government and of many Christian bodies, both of which suffer materially by this depletion of their forces. The Lutheran Church is just now making a renewed effort to induce all emigrants to leave *via* Hamburg, where they can receive aid and advice from the Emigrant Mission there established. The annual report of this organization announces a large increase in emigration from this port, now nearly one hundred thousand annually. Of these by far the larger portion direct their course to the United States, but not all by the Hamburg vessels; many go to English and other ports to embark, though the tendency now is to leave from Hamburg direct. The mission is now warning emigrants

from taking foreign vessels, and this appeal is evidently a matter of conscience and not of business. The interruption of the journey and the delay in other ports are attended with expense and danger. And again, it seems that the reports of gambling and fleecing the emigrants on the English vessels have reached the ears of the Germans. We have long known that the cabins of many of the foreign steamers are little better than gambling saloons; but it seems that the cunning sporters of the lower order take passage in the steerage, with a view to entice the emigrants to drink and play, and thus to rob them of the hard-earned savings with which they had hoped to make a start in the New World. Despair and suicide often follow in the track of these gamblers, who, the missionaries say, are excluded by their influence from the Hamburg vessels.

Not only Germans, but Austrians, Russians, Italians, and even Scandinavians are now being attracted to Hamburg to embark. Around all these the mission is endeavoring to throw its shield as a network of Christian love and religious influence. Many gaps will of course remain in this, for now nearly half of the great stream flows to England to embark for various ports, many to South America. The good office that the mission will perform is to meet them as they come and welcome them to a Christian refuge while they are waiting to embark, and to take their names and places of destination, to learn their religious preferences, and give them advice or circulars that will tell them just where they can find sympathizing friends on the other side, instead of falling into the hands of those who would use and advise them for selfish purposes. Valuable hints are given to them regarding location, soil, forests and plains, wood and water, and even industrial interests in various sections.

A very earnest endeavor is naturally made by this mission to keep them out of the hands of other denominations, or rather, in the hands of the Lutheran Church. They therefore consign the emigrants who will accept it to Lutheran agents in the States, who welcome them to a temporary home, and provide them with useful information in regard to their journey. This is a great blessing to emigrants, who would otherwise fall into the hands of interested agents paid for leading them where their advisers would reap a bounty from them. It would be a great blessing to us if all emigration were thus religiously and morally cared for from the start; and would greatly assist us in keeping the stream of German emigration in the right path, and prevent it from drifting off into the ranks of sabbath-breakers and free-thinkers.

An International Convention has just been held in Zürich against the *misuse* of intoxicating drinks, to which there came delegates from various lands and of the most various views. Some came to combat the abuse, and others to condemn the use in any shape, of alcoholic drinks. Although the associations represented expressed their opinions in very different lines, they all joined heartily in the battle against drunkenness, and, indeed, the general use of liquors.

Switzerland has assumed the monopoly of the sale of spirits, and, ac-

cording to the assertion of the director of the Swiss bureau for this trade, who was present and opened the discussion, it is there regarded as a necessary evil. All the cantons are now brought under one rule, and from the profits of the trade each canton is to receive its fixed share. Ten per cent. of this is to be applied to the effort to decrease the use of liquors. One canton, that has not yet engaged in the manufacture of spirits, has resolved to use its entire quota for that purpose. The spirit-monopoly has failed in Germany, and it were to the credit of Switzerland had she too refused to become a dealer in spirits to the demoralization of her people. The congress considered also the mode of treating the drink question in the schools, being incited to regard and study this matter by the report made from the United States, which was quite a surprise to many of them. After some discussion, it was resolved that it is advisable that the subject be brought to the knowledge of the children in the elementary school-books, and that cards of warning against the use of liquor be hung in the schools, so as to attract the attention of the young.

In Hanover they have had a *summer school* for instruction in the home mission work, and it was a decided success. It lasted about ten days, and was attended by over sixty clergymen and theological students, mainly young men. They were all accommodated in one building, so that they could be in constant intercourse. The entire day was given to the study, the work being divided into sections. Among the teachers were some of the most distinguished clergymen of the land, whose advice and training on the basis of their long experience were invaluable.

During the ten days of the course various institutions in the city and surrounding country were visited and inspected, including the asylum for idiots and the working colony for the reform of tramps. To these were added studies and lectures regarding the press and colportage, the care of abandoned children, discharged prisoners, young men's associations, and the whole long list of the benevolent work of the age. One valuable session was devoted to the consideration of the relation of home mission work to the Church. In the course of this discussion it was demonstrated that the work is the product of historical development finding its origin naturally in the Church, but branching out in all directions to aid it in the suppression of vice, the alleviation of suffering, and the spread of gospel truth with gospel work. Special reference was made to the growth of the work in all Germany, beginning with the noble trio of Christian philanthropists—Fliedner, Löhe, and Wichern. The final conclusions reached were, that the Church and the home missions need each other; but the Church must be the solid background on which all rests, and the guarantee for the continuance of the work.

The Papal Jubilee will soon be in full blast. On the last day of December, 1887, it will be fifty years since the Pope was consecrated as priest. On this day an international deputation will present to him the congratulations of the Roman Catholic world, and the money gifts that

have been sent to Rome. On the following day, on an altar expressly erected for the occasion, the Pontiff will read a mass for all who have participated in this contribution. On the same day, in presence of the pope, the Exposition of the Vatican will be opened in a building expressly erected for this purpose in one of the courts of the Vatican—to exhibit the gifts of all lands sent to the holy father. From the first of January till the month of May the pope will receive the pilgrimages from various lands and sections. The larger bands of pilgrims will be received in St. Peter's, and "*with closed doors if the situation in Rome shall not be materially altered before that time.*" The mass will be read over the grave of St. Peter, the pope will sit on a throne, and the pilgrims will pass by so that each one may see him and receive his individual blessing.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.—The General Committee charged with the duty of making appropriations to the various missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of deciding what fields shall be occupied as missions, and of apportioning the amounts to be raised to the various Conferences, held its annual session in this city in November. The treasurer's report was an inspiring one, showing that the "Million Line" had been fully reached and passed, the total receipts amounting to $1,044,796. The receipts by collections only did not, of course, reach the million line, being $932,209, a clear increase of $95,616 from this source over 1886. There was, however, a large falling off in legacies. In 1886 they footed up $133,958; this year only $35,844, a decrease of nearly $100,000. The other item of income—sundries—yielded this year $76,743 against $21,578 last year, the proceeds of the sale of a farm helping to account for the difference. The clear increase of the year's receipts over those of 1886 was $52,667, which seems to promise that the million line can at least be held with proper effort. The return by Conferences shows that only fourteen Conferences exceeded the apportionment, though most of them exceeded the contributions of 1886. The fourteen Conferences which raised more than was asked from them were the Central Illinois, East German, Illinois, Idaho, Minnesota, Nebraska, Newark, North Dakota, North-west Iowa, North-west Swedish, Philadelphia, Southern California, South-west Kansas, and West Nebraska. Philadelphia is the banner Conference, raising upward of $62,000. The next largest sum is $44,586, credited to the New York East Conference.

The General Committee considered three different amounts as the basis of appropriations for the coming year. Secretary McCabe named $1,100,000, which he thought was enough to ask of the Church, which desired a breathing-spell after its strenuous exertions. Bishop Fowler named $1,200,000, holding that the Church would respond to that reasonable

advance. Dr. Hatfield named $1,150,000 as a medium sum, and that figure was accepted, and the committee proceeded to make appropriations on the basis of that amount. The summary of appropriations was as follows: Foreign missions, $635,628; Missions to foreigners in United States, $71,272; Domestic missions and miscellaneous, $494,921; total, $1,201,819.

In connection with the discussion on the appropriations for Africa the fact was brought out that Bishop Taylor had returned the draft for $1,000 sent him for new work among the heathen on the borders of Liberia, saying he was willing to administer for any established work of the society, but preferred not to undertake the opening of new work himself. The question of the bishop's salary was considered. The amounts heretofore appropriated as salary have been refused by the bishop. He is not willing to receive his salary from the missionary treasury, but desires to be paid as the other bishops are paid, from the Episcopal Fund. The majority of the committee agreed that appropriations should be made to him at the rate of $3,000 a year, and accordingly $12,000 was set apart for him for the quadrennium, including $3,000 for 1888, and the amounts heretofore appropriated.

Bulgaria received much attention, as usual. Some of the committee thought the mission fulfilled the definition of a western mine—"a hole to put money into." Others thought the mission had never had a fair chance, and that it was important that the only Protestant mission north of the Balkans should be continued, however discouraging present circumstances might be.

The Work of the American Board.—The annual meeting of the American Board, which was held after the contents of our November number were prepared, was more notable for its controversial than for its missionary character. Its sessions were so fully occupied with the ecclesiastical and doctrinal questions at issue that the missionary papers of the secretaries, which are a prominent feature of the board's anniversaries, were not read at all. The decisions on the matters at issue were, we may say in passing, such as the Congregational Churches anticipated, and gave general satisfaction, although it is felt that a reorganization of the Board, so as to bring its methods of administration more in accord with Congregationalism, is desirable, and as soon as the smoke of the present conflict clears away it is probable that steps will be taken to make the Board a representative Congregational society instead of a close corporation.

The annual survey notes an unprecedented increase in the number of young women who offered themselves during the year for missionary service. The missions in papal lands grow very slowly but steadily. There is more interest both in Mexico and Austria, though persecution continues. The missions in Turkey have been disturbed by the proselyting labors of Baptists and Disciples of Christ, and some of the schools have been interfered with by government authorities. The churches are growing stronger and more self-reliant, and are becoming more and more

interested in extending evangelical influences As to the missions in India, much is said of the importance of enlargement. There is a larger heathen population in India to-day, it is said, than when Gordon Hall landed there over sixty years ago. Over 3,000,000 Hindus are familiar with the English tongue. The missionary work has not kept pace with the growth of education and the change in religious belief. Much more money ought to be available for Christian schools. The Christian College in Japan, the money for which was subscribed at the annual meeting of the Board at Portland in 1874, in response to an appeal from a Japanese convert, has now over 300 students. Over sixty of these became Christians last year. Christianity is now a power in Japan. The missionary stage will soon be over if American and European Christians will respond liberally to the appeal of the present opportunities. The slow progress of Christianity in China will soon become, Secretary Smith thinks, a rapid progress.

The faithful labor of many years is at last taking effect upon the convictions of the Chinese rulers and people; the aim of this Christian work is better appreciated, and the public opinion of the outside world is beginning appreciably to affect the policy of this great empire.

The Board has, with the new men sent out, seventy-seven laborers in China, of whom twenty-five are ordained missionaries. There are four missions, the Foochow, North China, Shan-se, and Hong Kong. The last two are in pressing need of re-enforcement. In Africa the Zulu mission has had a very prosperous year. The new East Central Mission, on Inhambane Bay, 500 miles north of Durban, is hardly yet fairly established. The West Central Mission reports the baptism of fourteen young men at Bailundu, and the organization of a Church. The stations at Bihé and Benguela have several hopeful cases of inquiry.

The work in the Pacific Islands affords great encouragement. The Ponape incident, which we described in our November number, was followed by an insurrection of the Ponapeans, who expelled the Spaniards. The general summary of the Board shows that there are 22 missions, 89 stations, 891 out-stations, 166 ordained missionaries, with 291 other laborers, 155 native pastors, 393 native preachers and catechists, 1,164 native teachers, 325 other native helpers, 325 churches, 28,042 members, 55 high-schools and theological seminaries, with 3,623 pupils; 41 boarding-schools for girls, with 2,318 pupils; and 878 common schools, with 34,417 pupils. The additions to membership during the year were 2,906. The receipts of the Board from all sources, including a small balance in the treasury September 1, 1886, were $680,954. Of this amount $366,958 came by donations, $98,414 by bequests, and upward of $203,000 from the Otis and Swett legacies.

The Moravians among the Hottentots.—The Moravians have been observing the sesqui-centennial of the landing of the pioneer of Christian missions in South Africa, the Rev. George Schmidt. Schmidt was a remarkable man. He left Bohemia at the end of a six years' imprisonment

for conscience' sake to endure almost equal hardness in far-off Africa. He landed at Cape Town July 9, 1737, and soon after went to work among the Hottentots, perhaps the most despised people of Africa, at a place called Baviansklоof (Baboon's Glen), whence he was driven by the persecutions of the Dutch clergy in 1743. He was driven from the country, and not allowed to return. The Dutch Christians in those days did not regard the Hottentots as any thing more than dogs, and it is said that the inscription "Dogs and Hottentots not admitted" might frequently be seen over the doors of their churches. The Dutch masters would not allow their slaves to be baptized. Accounts had reached Herrnhut, in Saxony, of the sad state of the Hottentots, and it was these that fired the soul of George Schmidt, who was then only twenty-seven years of age. The examining committee sought to dissuade him from going to Africa. They said: "The language of the Hottentots is extremely difficult. They have nothing but wild roots to feed upon." But he was determined to go. "With God," he said, "all things are possible, and, as I have assurance that it is the will of God I should preach the Gospel to the Hottentots, so I hope firmly in him that he will carry me through the greatest difficulties." Arrived in Africa, he was treated with hostility by the Dutch from the first, but the Hottentots gathered about him and he taught them Dutch, and some of them were brought to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ and were baptized. The Dutch colonists would not, however, allow the Hottentots to become Christians, and Schmidt was forced to return to Europe, after six years of fruitful work, driven away by Protestants. These Protestants had no regard whatever for the Hottentots, except for the service to be got out of them, and they could even coolly contemplate the open seizure of their property without a qualm of conscience. In 1652 Governor Van Riebeck wrote in his journal:

> The Hottentots came, with thousands of cattle and sheep, close to our forts, but we could not succeed in traffic with them. We feel vexed to see so many fine herds of cattle, and to be unable to buy to any considerable extent. If it had been allowed, we had opportunity enough to deprive them to-day of ten thousand head; which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect, can be done at any time, and even more conveniently, because they will by that time have greater confidence in us. With one hundred and fifty men, eleven thousand head of black cattle might be obtained without danger of losing one man; and many savages might be taken without resistance in order to be sent as slaves to India.

Such was the Christianity that drove Schmidt from his attempt to elevate the Hottentots. Not till 1792 was the mission renewed; and though nearly fifty years had elapsed since Schmidt's withdrawal, some of the fruit of his labors was found by those who came after him. The new missionaries were persecuted as Schmidt had been, and outrageously misrepresented. The good Dutch colonists even went so far as to say that if "missionaries come here to convert the Hottentots they ought immediately to be put to death." Near the close of the century the Boers in a memorial to the government demanded that the Moravians be not permitted to teach the Hottentots, for as there were many Christians in the country who were not instructed, it was not proper that the Hottentots

should be. The days of Dutch rule were, however, numbered, and under English protection the missionaries went on with their work. In 1797 a church was erected at Baviaanskloof capable of accommodating several hundred hearers. At that time there were eighty-four baptized Hottentots in the community. The old name gave place to that of Genadendal (Vale of Grace), and in 1808 another station was established. From this beginning have grown the large mission interests of the Moravians in South Africa among Hottentots, Bushmen (an allied tribe), Kaffirs, and others. In Cape Colony and Kaffraria there are now sixteen stations besides outstations, sixty missionary agents, and 12,300 converts. The old church is still standing at Genadendal, much dilapidated, but precious in memories. It was built by the natives themselves, and is plain and destitute of ornament as possible. As a memorial of the labors of Schmidt the natives propose to raise money enough for its renovation. On the festival day, July 9, in Genadendal alone $350 were raised for this purpose, and it is hoped to have it ready for the celebration (in 1892) of the centenary of the renewal of the mission. A few years ago a faithful Hottentot minister, under whose labors many came to know and accept Christ, passed to his reward, one of the fruits of the work begun by George Schmidt, and one of the incontrovertible evidences that Hottentots, who used to be considered the lowest of human kind, may become intelligent and effective preachers of the Gospel.

The Catholic Assassins in Mexico.—In our November number we gave an account of the murder of several native Protestants, including an ordained preacher, at Ahuacuatitlan, Mexico. The latest information from the Rev. J. Milton Greene, D.D., of the Presbyterian mission in Mexico, to which the victims at Ahuacuatitlan were attached, shows that the murderers are still unpunished. As soon as President Diaz heard of the affair he ordered the arrest of the chief of police, Cazares, and the priest, Vergara, believing that they were responsible for the plot. Cazares was removed from office, and Father Vergara and seven of those who were immediately concerned in the crime were arrested, but nothing further was done to bring them to trial. Accordingly, Dr. Greene wrote to President Diaz pleading for justice. In four days he received a reply promising to press the officials to action. After waiting two weeks longer Dr. Greene received information that two of the seven prisoners had been released on the payment of $50 each, and were threatening the lives of the remaining members of the congregation. Vergara had also been released on the payment of $100, and had resumed his priestly duties. At the same time the state government published a statement to the effect that witnesses who could identify and convict the prisoners could not be secured. An investigation of the facts showed that the judge in charge of the case had carefully avoided calling those who had witnessed the murders. On October 8, Dr. Greene had an interview with President Diaz, and told him how justice was being defeated, and submitted to him a list of fifty persons who were seen to take part in the

attack, together with a list of witnesses who were ready to testify. The president was indignant at the action of police and judiciary, and promised to do his utmost to have the miscreants brought to trial. Here the matter rested at last accounts. The Protestants are not very hopeful of a favorable issue. The president and governor of the State are anxious to have the murderers punished, but the local judges and officials will do all they can to screen them. Dr. Greene, as showing the trend of Catholic opinion, gives the following from an organ of Romanism in the city of Mexico, *La Defensa Catolica:*

> True charity consists in opposing our neighbor, injuring him in his material interests, abusing him and even taking his life whenever this may be necessary out of love to God. In the love and service of the Lord we ought, if necessary, offend men; we ought even to wound them and kill them; such acts are virtuous, and are permissible in the name of catholic charity.

UNDER the permissive legislation of the Northern and Southern Presbyterian General Assemblies of last May, the missions of the two Churches in Brazil have resolved to unite their organizations and form a single Church in Brazil. Similar action is expected in other countries.

IT is the general impression that the interior slave-trade of Africa is dying out; but the Rev. D. C. Scott, of Blantyre, East Africa, of the Church of Scotland mission, writes that it is making "frightful progress," at least in the Nyassa region. Caravan after caravan of Arabs goes into the interior from the east coast, and acre after acre of fair country is desolated, thousands are slaughtered, and thousands enslaved. Villages through which you might march straight on almost a day's journey, from one end to the other, are now deserted. The traffic was never more inhumanly conducted than now. "Missions need," says Mr. Scott, "to be multiplied, for they are a mighty foe to this barbarous business."

THE ENGLISH BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY has lost in its Congo field no fewer than fifteen of its missionaries, including two women, in the eight years of its occupancy of that region. Five others have been disabled, and are now serving elsewhere, making in all twenty out of thirty-six who have been laid aside. The most recent losses are those of Messrs. Whitley and Biggs, who died of fever.

THE English Baptist Society in retiring from the Cameroons Mission, West Africa, gave its right, title, and good-will to the Basle Society, which is carrying on the mission quite successfully on pedobaptist principles. Much trouble was anticipated with regard to baptism, but none has been encountered so far. As soon as the German missionaries were installed, one of the native evangelists came forward and of his own accord asked them to baptize the twins whom his wife had just given birth to. And then another native Christian, similarly situated, asked for the same favor. And thus without any difficulty and without a word of reasoning or expostulation, the native Christians seem to be ready to accept infant baptism.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

A CAREFUL study of the relation of the Roman Church to the American Republic ought to occupy the attention of the thoughtful. A writer in the *American Catholic Review* sees that, while the Roman Church is influencing America, America is equally influencing the Roman Church. The two influences, mediæval and modern, react on each other with fairer ground and freer conditions than ever have been obtained before. The assertion is made, which will surprise many, that a majority of the seventy-six bishops are now American-born, and statistics are given to demonstrate the well-known fact that Roman Catholic families have the largest number of children. A striking proof, in the mind of the writer, of the liberalizing influence of American institutions, is in the bold bid made for the favor of the Knights of Labor by the episcopal influence, which prevented a condemnation of that order. He traces the defeat of English official influence with respect to the appointment of an Archbishop of Dublin to the opposing pressure of the whole American hierarchy. Proof is set forth to show that there was a widespread effort on the part of leading men of the hierarchy to turn the Irish Catholic vote over to Mr. Blaine; but the writer finds consolation in the belief that this plausible and plotting stage of the Catholic Church in America is essentially transient in its nature, and gives, as reasons for this opinion, the fact that the perfection of the machinery of the Catholic Church is itself a danger in the American mind; that there is almost as much dissent, agnosticism, and free thought among educated Catholics as among other people in America. The heart of the Catholic, however far his head may be from the Church, never pulls away from the candles, the incense, the chanting, the robe and perfumed ceremonial, even when his head most fully rejects the mysteries upon which these depend. He may go to mass infrequently and to confession not at all. The McGlynn case is a proof of the spirit of revolt rife in the ranks of the American priesthood. But the greatest danger to the American Church is held to be this: That all the protests of the people against foolish priests; all the complaints of the priests against despotic bishops; all the charges of the bishops against the clergy and communicants, must be referred to Rome for consideration. This is a very brilliant number of the *Review*.

It is difficult to read a single issue of the English reviews without finding at least one important article relating to the problems of American life. In the July *Edinburgh* a study of the international law of the United States occupies a prominent place. It is admitted that the United States have played a great part, and are yet destined to play a further part in the formation of modern international law. The international law of the United States is characterized by marked individuality and independence of thought. The statesmen of the republic have rested their discussions on clear principles, which they have enunciated without ob-

security and with perfect straightforwardness. The successive secretaries of state have been keen to see practical advantages, and have urged their views with ingenuity, sometimes with enthusiasm, always with dignity, power, and resolution.

There is a most thoughtful, conservative, and yet sympathetic article in this number on the education of women—a subject which occupies large space at present in English thought. It is strange that those who are ultra-conservative in this matter do not see that there is a steady advance in educational opportunities for women, as well as a larger number of occupations and professions opening to them yearly. The special object of attack in this paper is the opinion of the strenuous Dr. Maudsley, who argues that the vital energies of women are so heavily taxed that no further strain can be laid upon them.

Mr. Romanes, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* of May last, has perhaps more strongly than any other writer, and certainly more fairly, declared that the theory that the mental faculties of the two sexes are identical is absurd, though he by no means denies that they may be equal, each having its own peculiar and distinctive qualities. Starting from the fact that the average brain weight of women is about five ounces less than that of men, he observes that we should expect a marked inferiority of intellectual power among women, and that this displays itself in a comparative absence of originality. The female intellect is essentially receptive, prompt, and subtle to take in all outward impressions. In no department of creative thought save fiction can women be said to have approached men. Some very important considerations are given in this paper concerning the bearing upon this fact of the education which has been permitted by men to be given to women. As a whole it is one of the most thoughtful and interesting discussions of the subject which we have seen.

Brander Matthews turns the tables upon English complaints, in his paper on "American Authors and British Pirates," and demonstrates that the English, in respect of pirating foreign authors, have been as great sinners as the Americans. Longfellow in 1876 wrote to a lady in England, who was groaning over American republication without compensation: "It may comfort you to know that I have had twenty-two publishers in England and Scotland, and only four of them ever took the slightest notice of my existence, even so far as to send me a copy of the books." Twenty years before that, Hawthorne visited a leading publishing house, and saw one of the firm who expressed great pleasure in seeing him, as he had published and sold (without any compensation of the author) uncounted thousands of his books. Emerson's works have been reprinted in England; the visit of Dr. Holmes to London called forth a mass of reprints; while Warne's *Star Series* contained in 1885 ninety-one numbers, and at least thirty-six of these were of American authorship; among them *The Wide, Wide World*, *The Prince of the House of David*, *That Lass o' Lowrie's*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Little Women*, and E. P. Roe's

stories. Another series, called Warne's *Selected Books*, contained nineteen numbers, and of these all but two were by American authors. Ward, Locke, and Tyler have their several series. One is the *Home Treasury Library*, and of the thirty-eight volumes of this series thirty were written by American authors. In another series there were seven American books, Mr. Beecher, Mr. Channing, J. T. Headley, T. T. Munger, and Professor William Matthews being the victims in this case. *The Good Tone Library* has twenty volumes, and all but three of these are of American authorship. *Little Women* is No. 15, and No. 16 is *Good Wives*, a sequel to the above. The author follows the British catalogue remorselessly, and shows what many have known before, but what up to this time has had no adequate setting forth, that the complaint of the English press is cant.

Those who are interested in the question, "What Kind of Wine was Used by the Master in the Lord's Supper?" will find President Hovey's discussion of the question, in the *Baptist Quarterly* for July, of considerable importance. He particularly discusses the phrase "fruit of the vine." He declares that he publishes his views reluctantly, for he expects that his devotion to what he believes to be the truth will cost him friends among those who hold a different opinion. His conclusions are, that the fact that Jesus did not use the word "wine," and did use the phrase "this cup," and "this fruit of the vine," does not favor the idea that the liquor was unfermented. The phrase "fruit of the vine" he holds to be a perfectly suitable designation of wine, and that only since it began to be believed that fermented grape-juice is poisonous has the discovery been made that wine is not the fruit of the vine. He holds, also, that the fact that the Jews were forbidden to use a leaven in any form during the passover does not prove that Jesus gave other than fermented grape-juice during the Lord's Supper, because no passage of Scripture forbids wine, or any kind of wine, to Jews during the passover. The Jews were commanded to remove all leaven from their borders during the passover week. Now, if in their minds leaven and fermentation were the same, it does not seem credible that midway between one vintage and the next all fermented juice of the grape was destroyed and that this destruction should never be expressly mentioned. We cannot give all the reasons for Dr. Hovey's opposition to modern theories in this respect, but the paper, whatever may be thought of his conclusions, is one well worthy the attention of thoughtful men.

We have found our neighbor, the *Catholic Magazine*, apart from its theology, with much of which we can have no sympathy whatever, a very bright and interesting publication. The second article is by Henry Haymen, D. D., upon a subject which is very interesting—"Cruel Nature." We have had so many studies of Mexico from Protestant stand-points that a study of its educational and industrial relations from the Catholic stand-point is of peculiar interest and value. A writer, reviewing an article in a recent issue of the *Forum* entitled, "For Better, for Worse," writes none too strongly of the scandal brought upon the marriage rela-

tions through the lax divorce laws of New England, but omits to state that the legislation of all the leading Churches almost as absolutely prohibits divorce as that of the Roman Catholic Church.

The October *Nineteenth Century* (L. Scott Publication Co., Philadelphia) naturally represents the preoccupation of the English mind with the Irish question, having articles by Gladstone, Dicey, and Hill on that or kindred subjects. Yet much of interest to American readers will be found in the study of Europe as revisited by Sir Salar Jung, in the story of "Dock Life in East London," and "Mr. Mivart's Modern Catholicism," by Justice Stephen.

Psychologists will find much of value in Mr. Gurney's "Letters on Phantasms," where some phases of thought-transference are discussed, and Mr. Gurney is not persuaded that they can be all accounted for by coincidence. Justice Stephen, in his trenchant way, shows that Mr. Mivart's views of the possibility of free thought in the Catholic Church are very wide of the mark—that his methods are destructive, for instance, of all faith in the incarnation. Mr. Mivart must not choose among his historical facts which he will believe. While the paper of Justice Stephen is not over-favorable to Christianity, it is yet worth something as a protest against "comprehension."

Robertson Smith re-appears in the October *Contemporary* in an article on the "Date of the Pentateuch." Dr. Smith seems to be moving on in his negations of faith in the Old Testament, holding, contrary to many scholars, that recent Egyptian discoveries throw no light on the date of the Pentateuch. We fear that Robertson Smith's methods leave little basis for faith in the divine legation of Moses, though we hear him speaking of "a miraculous guidance which made the Jewish race the sole depositary of the religious truths on which Christianity is founded."

David A. Wells, an American writer, has a careful study of the fall of prices since 1873, which exhibits the best comparison of the purchasing power of money we have seen. The other papers are of scant interest.

Robert Ingersoll opens the November number of the *North American* with "The Agnostic Side," a reply to Rev. H. M. Field, D.D. It is painful to see Mr. Ingersoll fighting a Christianity which did exist, but which has never existed in Methodism, in the elements most condemned by him. How far he is astray in his conception of the Gospel appears in the following sentences: "Religion has been the enemy of the social order, because it directs the attention of man to another world. Religion teaches its votaries to sacrifice this world for the sake of another. The effect is to weaken the ties that hold families and states together." He seems to have forgotten all commands as to the shining light, diligence in business, caring for one's family. Wm. Hosea Ballou has a very good article on the "Possibilities of Animal Intelligence," maintaining with much force the thesis that animals are approaching man. In "Possible

Presidents" John Sherman is exploited as a coming man. John Ball, Jr., does not succeed in convicting Cardinal Gibbons of any very serious mistakes in his account of the evils which threaten modern civilization.

John G. Carlisle, in the October *Forum*, defends, and prophesies the continuance of, Democratic rule. Bishop Huntington shows the relations between education and lawlessness. He is not over-happy in the greater freedom of the schools in elective studies and school government. "If you would have respect for law appear in the life of a nation you must put it into the schools."

Professor E. J. V. Huiguinn has a remarkably interesting study of the Roman anathema, *apropos* of a recent excommunication. We commend it to the attention of our ministers.

The "Aim of Human Life," according to Professor J. Peter Lesley, is to "preserve order and practice good-will." Professor Lesley has much to say of the insufficiency of Christian orthodox motive, but he can do no better than give a Christian rule of conduct after all. His aim as here given is only another phrase for St. James's definition of pure and undefiled religion. Alice Wellington Rollins writes strongly in the "New Uncle Tom's Cabin," against the tenement house evil.

Congregationalism lends Prof. J. M. Hoppin to the Protestant Episcopal Church for the purpose of a thoughtful article in the September *Church Review* on "The Principles of Art." Prof. Kinloch Nelson, D.D., and Rev. Arthur Lowndes, M.A., both discuss in this number the relations of Anglicanism and the Scottish Kirk. Mr. Lowndes seems to be fully possessed of the succession fantasy, and, though an Englishman, desires the Protestant Episcopal Church to take on the name "The Church of America." No better thing could happen for Methodism and other denominations. The pretended unity of the "Church" would speedily be shown to be the empty thing it is. The Protestant and Catholic parties are exclusive of each other, and alliance between them must be at the expense of principle. Changing the name would hasten the perception of this fact, and much would be gained.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October maintains its scholarly traditions splendidly. The article on the term "Son of Man" in the New Testament follows the teaching of the late Professor John Morgan, and is employed as an argument for the authenticity of the four gospels and for the divinity of Christ. Professor Schodde completes his translation of the "Book of Jubilees," and opens this very ancient book to the English reader for the first time. Rev. John Williams, of Chicago, unfolds the "New School Calvinistic Doctrine of Regeneration." It is interesting and fresh only as it shows how our Calvinistic brethren of Calvinistic antecedents still struggle with their bonds. Dr. Wm. DeLoss Love briefly distinguishes, in a strong paper, between Hades and Gehenna.

Hades to the righteous was a prison only as a body was a prison to the soul. That was the patristical view, and the Petrine and apostolical view. The primi-

tive saints believed that their salvation would not be complete until they were delivered from their detention in Hades. Hence they looked with great expectation to the resurrection, particularly until they received the idea that the souls of the righteous were to be transferred to be with their Saviour at the right hand of the Father. . . . Adding to this the fact that Gehenna of itself was not called a prison, but something far worse—a place of fire—we are further helped to the conclusion that Christ, preaching to the spirits in prison, did not preach to the impenitent dead. He did go to paradise, or Abraham's bosom, when he died, for he was to be there that day with the penitent one on the cross.

The *Andover* is well sustained in strength. In its October issue the Rev. Asher Henry Wilcox discusses "The Ultimate Criteria of Christian Doctrine." This he defines to be the common Christian consciousness:

This is the product of all that is most valuable in the Christian experience and knowledge of all Christendom. Here the idiosyncrasies of the individual are left behind, his errors corrected, his narrowness enlarged, his weakness made strong. . . . The individual Christian consciousness is modified, corrected, and aided by the common experience, the common feeling of the saints of the whole Church of God on earth.

He illustrates in conclusion the following points:

The common Christian consciousness as an interpreter of Scripture and of Scripture doctrine is universal in its influence. The common Christian consciousness as an interpreter of Scripture and Scripture doctrine is progressive. The common Christian consciousness, while continually interpreting and testing the Scriptures and Scripture doctrine, can never supersede them.

In the November *Andover* Rev. J. B. Heard writes "The Story of Three Panics, by One who has Lived through Them." The three are the papal aggression panic of 1850, in England; the second that which followed the publication of *Tracts for the Times;* the third came from the essays and reviews of Dr. Temple and others. He counsels the American Churches not to quake over fresh discussions of the old foundations. The editor is not wholly happy over the result of the great discussion at Springfield, Mass., of the relation of the American Board to the Churches. It would seem that the editors of the *Andover* hardly expected that the vote would be so heavily against the council project. But those who know the facts know that a small and able group of men may make a great deal of noise, and it is probable that the really influential minds who find a second probation for some necessary to their theodicy, are not more than five or six. The vote at the Springfield meeting shows what is well known to New England students, that the masses of the Congregationalist Church are untouched by the new theology.

A study of the article on "The Professional Education of Ministers" reveals the fact that many besides our Methodist fathers have had reasont o fear that theological seminaries do not train pastors well. Yet in our own seminaries the objections here mentioned hold to a very slight degree.

The *Southern Methodist Review* for November has many good articles. One on "Unity Better than Union," by Rev. J. W. Hawley, states

strongly the difficulties in the way of organic union of Protestant bodies, while it insists that unity is not only a possibility, but a growing fact. As to union between the two great Episcopal Methodisms, the writer is not hopeful. He emphasizes the points of difference, and declares that the Church South cannot surrender its view of the episcopacy and other matters.

The *Catholic Review* is, from its own stand-point, always strong, and often has articles valuable to the Protestant Christian. Thus in the October issue the question, "Has Professor Huxley's Mission Been a Failure?" is ably discussed, and the conclusion given that the agnosticism of the professor is an avowed failure as an argument against Christianity. There is also a thoughtful paper on "Some Aspects of Private Fortunes," by G. W. Gilliam, LL.D., which shows how much danger to popular content and public welfare lies in large fortunes selfishly used. The other articles are chiefly of Roman Catholic interest, and some of them apologetic.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Is there Salvation after Death? A Treatise on the Gospel in the Intermediate State. By E. D. Morris, D.D., LL.D., Lane Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 252. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Dr. Morris won high reputation as a clear and able writer by his *Ecclesiology*, which is fully sustained by his timely treatise on the vexed question of probation after death. Fully apprehending the gravity of his theme, he brings the problem to "the testimonies of Scripture, the witness of Christian symbolism, the evidences drawn from Christian theology, and the tests of Christian experience." Recognizing the fact that it must be solved, if at all, not by speculative reasonings or by human feeling, but by the revealed word, he examines a series of particular passages, grouped in seven classes, which have a bearing on this topic. Of these groups he finds that those which speak of the "fullness and freeness of salvation," of "divine forgiveness," of the "limitations of punishment hereafter," and of "judgment after death," can only be claimed, at best, as furnishing inferential support to the dogma of future probation. But his searching examination of them shows that, properly understood, they do not justify such inferences as the advocates of that theory appear to draw from them. His investigation of passages supposed to directly affirm the disputed doctrine is dispassionate, candid, and, we may add, conclusive. This is emphatically true of the crucial text, 1 Pet. iii, 18–20. Frankly conceding that this passage is difficult, obscure, perhaps unfathomable, he ably exposes the astounding unreasonableness of building a theory which, if true, requires a complete reconstruction of Christian theology,

on a single text of uncertain import. As to what this text does mean the doctor modestly declines to determine by any exposition of it. He contents himself with a very sensible suggestion concerning what the apostle really meant by it. He then proceeds to show that the dogma, which totters to its fall without the support of St. Peter's word, has no prop in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, in the restoration of the son of the widow of Nain, or in certain words of our Lord concerning the destiny of unbelievers, all which have been alleged to teach it. Thus he exhibits the theory as sheer speculation, without any scriptural foundation.

Reviewing the "general testimony of Scripture," our author fails to find any thing that can be justly made to support the dogma in question. To the inferences drawn by its advocates from Paul's doctrine of the headship of humanity, he replies that our Lord's headship is not natural but spiritual, and based on the response of human faith to God's wondrous love. As to the claim that God's love and justice make a future probation necessary to their vindication, he fitly responds that men are no more competent to explain what those perfections require than they are to solve existing mysteries in the divine administration. So also of the work of the Holy Spirit, which is admitted on all sides to be indispensable to human regeneration, he shows that Holy Scripture uniformly represents it as provided for man as he is in the present life, and not as he is to be in the hereafter. With similar breadth of view and force of reasoning the doctor discusses the "witness of Christian theology" and the "witness of Christian experience," neither of which can fairly be made to testify favorably to this boldly-asserted theory.

The spirit of this admirable contribution to theological thought is not sharply dogmatic, but calm, and eminently judicial. There is no asperity in it. Its style is precise, vigorous, dignified, and clear. The scheme of the work is comprehensive, omitting nothing material to the question discussed, and it is skillfully wrought out. It is a volume which the advocates of the so-called progressive theology will find it easier to condemn than to answer with satisfaction to themselves. One cannot help regretting, however, that in an incidental allusion to Arminius Dr. Morris represents that great theologian as being one in doctrine with Pelagius; whereas, in his dissertation on the seventh chapter of Romans, Arminius, after stating the views of Pelagius as given by St. Augustine, expressly disavows them, and affirms that his own opinions are a signal confutation of the leading falsehood of the Pelagian heresy. When will Calvinistic theologians deal justly with Arminius?

Of the Doctrine of Morality in its Relation to the Grace of Redemption. By ROBERT B. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 331. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, $1 50.

To minimize the value of Christianity some of its modern assailants exalt false religions by claiming, as Celsus in the third and the deists in the eighteenth century did, that its moral teaching is not peculiar to it, but is only a reproduction of moral precepts common to all religions. Dr. Fair-

bairn's book discusses this apparent objection. Admitting that the human soul is so constituted that its wants naturally lead it, when under its best conditions, to the perception of moral truth and to the development of a sense of duty to do those acts required by its relations to society, he proceeds to show that Christianity does not profess to reveal a special moral system, but only to explain and enforce those moral ideas which are more or less clearly taught by natural religion. What Christianity actually does is, to so unfold the relations of men to God and to each other that the nature and obligations of moral life are placed in a divine light, which broadens and deepens their moral perceptions and intensifies the action of the conscience. But its crowning achievement is its revelation of that redemptive grace by which alone an ideal moral life is possible. These views are very ably and vigorously wrought out by Dr. Fairbairn in this timely and thoughtful volume.

It is to be regretted, however, that in his "Introduction" he charges the Wesleyan revival with being the source of "a feeling adverse to morality, which has not yet faded out;" in other words, of Antinomianism. To support this indictment, the Doctor gives the authority of Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*. Had he consulted such authorities as Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, *Wesley's Journal*, or Stevens's *History of Methodism*, all which, on this question, are better guides than Lecky, he would have learned that the Wesleyan revival was as remarkable for its moral as for its spiritual results. Wesley insisted, from first to last, on right moral conduct as the indispensable fruit of a true spiritual life. He judged the professions of his converts more by the correctness of their morals in every-day life than by their utterances in the class-room. "I dread every approach to Antinomianism," he wrote: "I have seen the fruit of it over the three kingdoms." But it was not in his societies that this poisonous fruit was produced. It had its roots in the Solifidianism of the Moravians, in the Calvinistic dogmas of "imputed righteousness" and absolute predestination, and in the extravagant views of Christian perfection taught, not by himself, but by parties whom he censured, and who withdrew from his fellowship. It is indeed a matter of authentic history that, despite these incidental drawbacks (for which Wesleyanism was no more responsible than was the Pauline gospel for those Antinomians whose key-note was, "Let us sin that grace may abound"), the Wesleyan movement was eminently a moral revival. Besides raising up a numerous "people zealous of good works," it also produced a very marked reformation of manners throughout England. Then, as now, Wesleyanism, while strongly insisting that "without faith it is impossible to please God," also emphasizes the truth that "faith without works is dead."

The Why of Methodism. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 16mo, pp. 182. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 70 cents.

Will the time ever come when works on Methodist apologetics will cease to be written? Probably not, for as the changes in human thought make

Christian apologetics necessary, though nearly nineteen centuries have passed since Christianity began its work, so Methodism, for like reasons, will in every age be called upon to defend its right to be. This fact justifies Dr. Dorchester in writing *The Why of Methodism*, which, viewed as a brief and popular presentation of the question, is one of the best books of its class hitherto produced. In strong and pithy style it treats of the origin, the character, the influence, and the polity of Methodism. By vigorously seizing the salient points of these topics the doctor avoids prolixity, holds the attention, and impresses, if he does not always wholly capture, the judgment of his reader. His comparative statistics, which are given as tests of the success of Methodism and of the superior advantages of its polity, must have cost him very great labor, and they are, as a whole, quite conclusive. His valuable tabulations of the duration of what are called settled pastorates furnish him a ground for his belief that "the general extension of the term of Methodist pastorates" would not be productive of good. He nevertheless concedes that "possibly some exceptions in large cities might be made advantageously to the Church." Very good. But since his tables demonstrate that "in the whole country the average term of service in the Congregational churches for the settled pastors and stated supplies is only 3.8 years," it is a fair conclusion that there is no danger that our itinerant system would be imperiled if its present "time limit" were abolished. If with the policy of a settled pastorate a practical itinerancy is maintained, our system, itinerant in principle, would certainly be able to retain this its peculiar feature. Given, then, our plan of annual appointments by bishops having authority to reappoint as long as the exceptional needs of a given church and the special fitness of a pastor to meet them might require, its exceptional cases might be provided for without peril to the continuity of our itinerant plan. Human nature will always take care of the itinerancy.

The Scottish Pulpit, from the Reformation to the Present Day. By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City; Author of *Peter the Apostle*, etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo, pp. 287.

This is a volume of sketches addressed to the students of Yale Theological Seminary in 1886. Its first chapter is "Introductory and Historical," and contains a lucid synopsis of the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the beginning of its struggle with the Papacy down to the grand and memorable disruption of 1843. This is succeeded by graphic sketches of John Knox, who never feared the face of man; of Melville, the educator, who "made Scotland Presbyterian;" of Rutherfurd, who was as sharp in controversy as he was saintly in character; of Dickson, the noted revivalist; of Livingstone, "the most popular preacher of his time," and specially distinguished for one sermon which won five hundred sinners to Christ; of Archbishop Leighton, whose writings are still in demand because of the beauty of their style, the appositeness of their illustrations, their devout spirit, and their rich stores of theological thought. After these come glimpses of the leaders of the unevangelical Moderate Party.

Next we are shown Chalmers, the most powerful preacher of the modern Scottish pulpit, and in no mean sense the restorer of the evangelical spirit to the Scottish Church. Its final chapter briefly describes the representative men of the Dissenting Churches in Scotland. In all these sketches Dr. Taylor has broadly outlined the leading facts in each man's life, pointed out the sources of his influence, and noted the characteristic features of his preaching. Hence, though he does not theorize on homiletics, he practically illustrates homiletical principles. His plain style is strong, vigorous, and clear. His apt use of personal anecdotes makes his pages as entertaining as they are instructive.

Christian Facts and Forces. By NEWMAN SMYTH, Author of *Old Faiths in a New Light*, etc. 12mo, pp. 267. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 50.

Dr. Smyth is no preacher of smooth things, nor a writer of dull, meaningless platitudes. On the contrary, he hurls ethical truths upon slumbering consciences with a force born of deep moral convictions and clear intellectual perceptions. His style is characterized by a nervous strength and rhetorical attractiveness which command and hold the reader's attention. There are twenty discourses in this volume, mostly on themes suggested by current thought and passing events. These topics are treated more in view of their bearing on practical life and Christian experience than of their relations to speculative beliefs. Yet their author does not conceal his sympathy with the dogmas of the "New Theology." He suggests, without positively asserting, the idea of universal salvation. His "Study of the Atonement" presents a view of that mysterious doctrine which he assuredly did not find either in Paul's discussion of it or in the sayings of our Lord. He affirms that Christ, by "*identifying himself with our sinful consciousness*, makes a perfect repentance for sin and confession of it to the Father. Christ *experiences our sin* and confesses it." And again, "Christ realizes the cost of the sin of the world. . . . Thus God can be satisfied in forgiving and forgetting our sins. . . . And that which satisfies God himself will be sufficient to meet any demands of his law or necessities of his moral government."

This, it must be confessed, is very plausible; but who can understand how Christ could "identify himself with our *sinful consciousness* . . . and *experience* our sins?" That he could suffer as the representative of humanity is a comprehensible fact, as it is also that in his momentary sense of being forsaken by the Father he "tasted death for every man," it being understood that conscious separation from God is the essence of the "second death," which is *the* punishment of sin. But how he who "knew no sin" could have *consciousness and experience* of our sins who can explain? It may be clear to Mr. Smyth. To us Peter's statement that he "suffered the just for the unjust," and John's sublime declaration, that "he is the *propitiation* for our sins," are far better and more satisfactory statements of the philosophy of his wonderful act of self-sacrifice. Nevertheless, the volume, despite these few "dead flies," is, as a whole, exceedingly interesting, eminently suggestive, and full of living thoughts.

The Biblical Illustrator; or, Anecdotes, Similes, Emblems, Illustrations, Expository, Scientific, Historical, and Homiletic, gathered from a wide range of Home and Foreign Literature, on the verses of the Bible. By Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. 8vo, pp. 688. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $2.

The motto of Sir Henry Wotton, "I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff," is applicable to Mr. Exell, whose work is well described by its title. The present lusty volume is devoted to St. Matthew's gospel, which is profusely illustrated and explained, verse by verse, with apposite, varied, and suggestive extracts from a vast number of ancient and modern authors. The meaning of words, the lessons deducible from the text, the doctrine it teaches, the duty it enjoins, pithy remarks of commentators and other writers upon it, and anecdotes with which to enforce its teachings, follow each verse. The author generally displays sound judgment, good taste, and wide acquaintance with the best writers, both of the past and present. He has put the condensed substance of many commentaries into one, giving the results reached by many learned exegetes, and has thereby produced a volume of great practical value, not to preachers only, but also to Sunday-school teachers, and to all, indeed, who take delight in searching the Scriptures.

According to Promise; or, The Lord's Method of Dealing with His Chosen People. A new book by CHARLES H. SPURGEON. A companion volume to *All of Grace.* 12mo, pp. 130. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 75c.

These twenty practical discourses of the most popular preacher of his time in England invite one to inquire, What are the sources of Spurgeon's popularity? The homilies suggest that it is neither displayed learning, depth of reasoning, brilliant rhetoric, nor great breadth of thought, but simplicity of statement, homely, well-chosen illustrations, pithy and quaint sentences, brief discriminating expositions, earnest persuasiveness, restrained yet deep spiritual feeling, and direct appeals to men's common sense, which give Mr. Spurgeon his strong hold upon the public mind. Excepting the homily on "Whose are the Promises?" in which the dogmas of an almost effete Calvinism are very distinctly set forth, a Christian reader will find much in this volume to quicken his affections, stimulate his faith, encourage his hope, and feed his spiritual aspirations.

The Story of the Psalms. By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Church in New York; Author of *Reality of Religion.* 12mo, pp. 259. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 50.

Every lover of the Psalms of David—and what Christian is not?—will be interested in this volume, which is expository, practical, and illustrative of the occasion and spirit of many portions of "the Hebrew Hymn-book." Dr. Van Dyke is an attractive and able writer. With admirable skill and judgment he draws out the lessons of the Psalms, associating them with the events in David's life which inspired their composition. His book is eminently religious in its tone, and is therefore a fitting companion for the Christian in his hours of retirement and reflection. It also abounds in thoughtful observations on Christian life and duty.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1888. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and Rev. WESLEY O. HOLWAY, M.A., U. S. N. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 8vo, pp. 351. Price, $1 25.

Our first thought, after a brief examination of this volume, was that it is a marvel of cheapness; our second, one of almost unqualified admiration of its contents. Lucid in its exposition of the text, pointed in its practical reflections, and cogent in its application of the truths taught, it is a very valuable aid to the teacher. Its pictorial illustrations are also good, but often lose much of their artistic effect from not being, to use a printer's phrase, *well made ready*. A little more care here would have made the book indeed admirable.

Question Books in three grades, adapted to the Commentary, are also on sale, price fifteen cents each.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Philosophy of Theism. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University; Author of *Metaphysics*, *Introduction to Psychological Theory*, etc. 8vo, 269 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Sir William Hamilton designates philosophy an "intellectual gymnasium." He truthfully affirms that "philosophy lies at the basis of all theological science worthy of the name;" and speaking of it historically says, that sometimes perverting the simplicity of Christian faith, it has often come to its rescue and beaten back the hosts of infidelity and error. If through philosophy the Germans have been seduced from evangelical truth, by philosophy they are returning to it. Thought encounters thought, speculation wages war with speculation, till at last truth emerges from the strife vigorous and triumphant. . . . On which ground we vindicate the amplest and freest discussion in the domain both of religion and philosophy.

Viewed in this light Professor Bowne's *Philosophy of Theism* is a timely and valuable contribution to the interests of Christianity; timely, because in this age of mental activity men will think—indeed cannot help thinking. And to think is to philosophize, rightly or wrongly. The present volume philosophizes rightly as well as ably, and is in this sense an antidote to much of the abounding false philosophizing of the times.

Professor Bowne evidently has a genius for philosophy. His intellectual insight is deep, his perceptions clear, his concepts distinct, his logical faculty remarkably strong, and his verbal expression concise and forcible. To these qualities is joined another that is rarely found in philosophical writers; namely, a mildly sarcastic wit blended with a touch of humor. This quality both invigorates and enlivens his style, so that his work is, with all its profundity, positively entertaining. To be convinced of the truth of this latter remark one only needs to read the "Introduction" to this lucidly written volume, in which he wittily and logic-

ally brushes aside certain theories which lie in the foreground of his theme.

Our author seeks "the rational foundation of the theistic idea" in the theistic consciousness of the race. He finds it in "the demand of our entire nature, intellectual, moral, æsthetic, and religious." Very judiciously, he "does not propose to prove the divine existence, or to clear up all the puzzles of metaphysics," but only to show "that without a theistic faith we must stand as dumb and helpless before the deeper questions of thought and life as a Papuan or Patagonian before an eclipse."

In working his way to this conclusion the professor discusses, 1. The Unity of the World-Ground; 2. The World-Ground as Intelligent; 3. The World-Ground as Personal; 4. The Metaphysical Attributes of the World-Ground; 5. God and the World; 6. The World-Ground as Ethical; 7. Theism and Life. In his discussion of these several theories our author speaks confidently where confidence is justifiable, but is singularly frank in admitting whatever force he can find in anti-theistic arguments. It is not necessary to affirm that his logic is in every instance impregnable, but it is simply true to say that he satisfactorily proves that, as Morrell observes in his *History of Modern Philosophy*, "if there be any such thing as truth at all, if there be any common principles on which the human reason can rest, then assuredly the universe has a ground, or cause, and that cause is self-existent, absolute, infinite, eternal."

The Science of Thought. By F. MAX MULLER. No Reason without Language. No Language without Thought. Two vols., 12mo, pp. 656. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.

These volumes, as the learned author informs us in his Preface, are an amalgam composed of his earlier views and the results of his later labors. He gives this work to the world because "it is the result of a long life devoted to solitary reflection and to the study of the foremost thinkers of all nations, and contains certain truths which deserve to be recorded." Its special value lies in the fact that in it Müller carries the results of his profound linguistic studies into the realm of modern philosophic thought. Hence in the first volume we find him discussing, with his usual lucidity of expression, The Constitutent Elements of Thought; Thought and Language; Kant's Philosophy; Language the Barrier between Man and Beast; The Constituent Elements of Language, and The Origin of Concepts and Roots. The second volume is devoted to The Roots of Sanskrit, the Formation of Words, and Propositions and Syllogisms. His aim in the chapter on "The Constituent Elements of Thought" is to establish the proposition that what we call reason is simply our power of "gathering and combining;" a process which "begins with sensation and passes on to perception and conception, and reaches its full perfection only when it has become incarnate in the Logos, or Word." The basic principle of this proposition is, that there is "no reason without language." In defending this principle he reviews the theories of Mill, Whately, Lotze, Locke, Abelard, Hume, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer,

Hamilton, Mansel, etc., showing how nearly most of these philosophers came to it, but without giving it such definite and exact expression as he does himself. In treating of "thought and language," Müller, after claiming that "both philosophy and philology have established the fact that language is thought and thought is language," proceeds to argue the proposition that "the true history of the human mind is to be found in the history of language." The beginning and growth of language being involved in this argument, he is led to discuss the question of its evolution, and also of evolution in general. In doing this he rejects the theory of Darwin, and claims as an established fact "that the whole genus man possesses something—namely, language—of which no trace can be found in the most highly developed animal, and that therefore a genealogical descent of man from animal is an impossible assumption." He next gives a brief view of Kant's philosophy, which he presses into a support of his theory. In chapter four he renews his assault on Darwin, and says of human speech: "If there is something in men which could not possibly have been inherited from a monkey or any other animal—something of which the most rudimentary germs are absent in the whole animal genus —something which has imparted to man a character entirely different from all other living beings, namely, language—why represent him as the descendant of an unknown, but certainly speechless, ape?" Having swept aside the philosophical objections to his theory of words as related to concepts, our author enters upon the more strictly philological portions of his work, which, it is needless to say, he treats with unsurpassed skill and full mastery of his subject. Evidently, Müller is a philologer who has learned to philosophize.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Brief Institutes of General History. Being a Companion Volume to the Author's Brief Institutes of our Constitutional History, English and American. By E. Benjamin Andrews, D.D., LL.D., Professor of History in Brown University. 12mo, pp. 440. Boston: Silver, Rogers & Co.

This book is as unique and comprehensive in its plan as it is skillful and scholarly in execution. Unlike ordinary histories, it does not record the events of the ages in detail, but gives what the author correctly calls a "precipitate" of them, which "renders prominent the rationale of historical movement." Important details and distinguished characters are treated of in notes which are marvels of condensation. Each of its sixteen chapters is preceded by a select bibliography of exceeding value to every student seeking full acquaintance with the literature of the period under consideration. As a help to teachers of history, as a guide and text-book for historical students, and as a book of reference, it merits the highest praise. Its author is evidently deeply learned in the lore of history, and the book contains the keys which open the doors that lead to an understanding, not of history only, but also to the philosophy of history.

The Boy Travelers on the Congo. Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey with Henry M. Stanley through the Dark Continent By THOMAS W. KNOX, author of *Boy Travelers in the Far East*, etc. Illustrated. Quarto, pp. 463. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This attractive volume is a condensation of Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent.* Colonel Knox prepared it for the benefit of youthful readers at the request of Stanley himself. That Mr. Knox did this is sufficient assurance that it is well done—that intelligent young people will read it with avidity. The number of its illustrations is "legion," their artistic merit superior, their realism unquestionable, because they were drawn or photographed from the scenes and persons represented. It is one of the books which both fascinate and instruct. It is, in truth, a sort of wonder-book, revealing the secrets of the long unknown "dark continent" to the eager curiosity of the young concerning things strange and unlike to the familiar objects of their native land. To parents who are inquiring, "What book shall we give our children this holiday season?" it is safe to reply, "Give them *The Boy Travelers on the Congo.*"

A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865. Preceded by a Review of the Military Services of Negroes in Ancient and Modern Times. By GEORGE W. WILLIAMS, LL.D., Colonel and late Judge Advocate in the Grand Army of the Republic; Author of the *History of the Negro Race.* 12mo, 353 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This extremely interesting volume demonstrates, from the official records of the war of the rebellion, that the negro displayed in that protracted struggle the highest qualities of a soldier in many a hard-fought battle. Courage to attack, bravery to endure, fearlessness under deadly fire, and daring in assault, were as conspicuous in him as in the bravest and best of his white fellow-soldiers. That these qualities should be found in men belonging to a race long enslaved and generally despised is evidence that there is in the race a moral and intellectual basis for the highest culture. All that men have attained they may attain. Colonel Williams, who is himself a colored man, proves by his book that he can guide the pen with skill, force, and sound judgment. In its sixteen chapters he tells us what the negro has done as a soldier, both in ancient and modern times; and he has done this in a style and spirit and with a degree of intelligence which make his volume eminently readable, instructive, and historically valuable.

Memoirs of Wilhelmine, Margravine of Baireuth. Translated and Edited by Her Royal Highness, Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland. With Portrait. 16mo, pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The fact that Wilhelmine was sister to Frederick the Great is sufficient of itself to kindle a desire in every lover of history to read what she wrote concerning a life passed in association with the court of that heartless monarch and his narrow-minded father. Her almost tragic story is profoundly interesting. Being autobiographic, it unfolds both the external events of her life and many of her mental struggles caused by

the ambition of her father and mother to bring about her marriage with the heir to the crown of Great Britain. She wrote of those trials with a guileless frankness which captures one's sympathies. Her memoirs show us a princess nobly born, and yet cruelly tried by intrigues that counted her affections as of no consequence when weighed against the supposed need of the kingdom of Prussia to increase its importance through her marriage with the heir of England's crown. Those intrigues were baffled, and she was almost forced to marry a German prince with whom she was scarcely acquainted, but whom, fortunately, she was subsequently able to love. Her narrative does not touch the last fifteen years of her life; but her letters to Voltaire, now in course of translation, will form a sequel to it. The volume, apart from its historical value, illustrates those much-despised words of the Master of Wisdom which affirm that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

Engravings on Wood by Members of the Society of American Wood-Engravers. Introduction and Descriptive Letter Text, by W. M. LAFFAN. Large folio. Ornamental covers. New York: Harper & Brothers. $12.

Whoever thinks that American engravers on wood are in any sense inferior to those of France, Germany, and England needs only to examine this magnificent folio to be convinced that he is much mistaken. More than this, he will be compelled to confess that they have attained the pre-eminence in this admirable art. Here are twenty-five engravings from paintings so highly wrought, so exquisitely finished, so deep in tone, so rich in color, and so vigorous in expression as to be almost as pleasing and effective as engravings on steel. They are by Bernstrom, Closson, Cole, Davis, French, Johnson, King, Kingsley, Krull, Muller, Powell, Putnam, Tinkey, Wellington, and Wolf. The Harpers never produced a work more mechanically beautiful in execution than this. We question whether any other establishment in America could equal it. It is in truth a masterpiece both of wood-engraving and printing, and is a tasteful and fitting ornament for either the library or drawing-room table. It is just the thing for persons seeking something unique and elegant for a Christmas or New Year gift.

Beauty Crowned; or, The Story of Esther, the Jewish Maiden. By Rev. J. N. FRADENBURG, Ph.D., D.D., Member of the American Oriental Society, etc., Author of *Witnesses From the Dust*, etc. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 12mo, pp. 264. 90 cents.

This is not a superficial reproduction of the beautiful monograph of Esther contained in Holy Writ, but a carefully and tastefully written version of that charming story, in which its realism is illustrated by weaving into it many facts from classical and Oriental histories which go to prove even its minute truthfulness. These facts, with descriptions of many ancient customs, are not so presented as to rob the story of its charm, but rather to explain its allusions, and thereby add to its value as a part of the biography of a woman who played a very important part

in the history of her people. Hence it has both literary and historical value, and is a commendable addition to the list of works written for the entertainment and instruction of young people.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Wonder Clock; or, Four-and-twenty Marvelous Tales, being one for each hour of the day. Written and Illustrated by HOWARD PYLE. Embellished with Verses by KATHARINE PYLE. Quarto, pp. 318. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Messrs. Harper have sent out many good things for the entertainment of the young folk, but it may well be doubted whether they have ever provided a feast better adapted to meet their demand for "the evening hour" reading than this stately volume. Mr. Pyle is both a fabulist and a teller of fairy-stories. He uses natural objects, animals, and imaginary personalities as instruments to afford amusement and to teach moral lessons without moralizing. His humorous pictorial illustrations add not a little to the charm of the book, as do also the playful verses which precede each story. As a holiday gift-book it must be popular. Lads and misses will devour it, and the little ones too young to read it themselves will clamor to have it read to them.

Animal Life in the Sea and Land. A Zoölogy for Young People. By SARAH COOPER. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 413. New York: Harper & Brothers.

To lure young people to a habit of observing, and to the formation of a taste for studying natural history, is to do them substantial and lasting good. To this end the volume before us is judiciously adapted. Eschewing formal scientific descriptions of the objects of animated nature, it is nevertheless based on scientific classification. Beginning with sponges, the lowest forms of animal life, it proceeds upward to man, the crown of the animal kingdom, describing not the minute parts of living objects, but those which are readily found by the unassisted eye, and such of their habits as can be most easily observed. This is done in clear, well-chosen language, which is made still more intelligible by two hundred and seventy-eight illustrations most admirably engraved and finely printed. It belongs to that class of useful and entertaining books of which it may be said that too many of them cannot be put into the hands of young people.

Young Knights of the Cross. A Hand-book of Principles, Facts, and Illustrations for Young People who are Seeking to Win the Golden Crown of Pure and Noble Character. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 270. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Dr. Wise intends this book to be a *vade mecum* for youth just entering their teens—a work to guide their conduct and teach them what is the right thing to do in the play-ground, the school, the home, the place of business, and wherever else they may be called to act.

History of the Christian Church.

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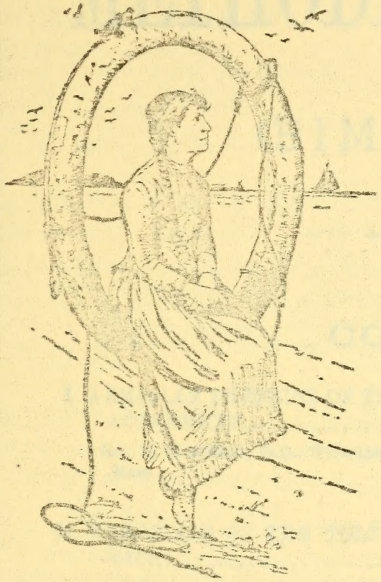

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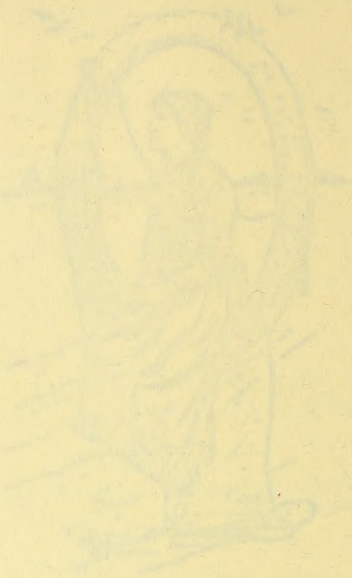

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(BIMONTHLY.)

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1888.

ART. I.—ARMINIAN THEORIES OF THE ATONEMENT.

THE separation of the Arminians from the Calvinists involved no essential difference between the parties in respect to the atonement except in the important particular of its *extent.* The great conflict was on the doctrine of predestination—the absolute election of certain souls to eternal life and the absolute reprobation of other souls to eternal death. Arminius denied this doctrine, and held that the redemption of Christ was available for all men, and that they all had power to accept or reject it, and that their salvation was conditional upon their exercising the former power.

The view of the atonement prevailing among the more pronounced Calvinists of the time referred to was a considerably intensified form of Anselm's theory, which had been in substance the Church doctrine for five hundred years. This theory was, briefly stated, as follows. I quote from Knapp:

> Man owes reverence to the character of God and obedience to his laws. Whoever withholds this . . . robs God of what belongs to him, and must not only restore that which he withheld, but pay an additional amount as amends for the dishonor brought upon God. Thus it stands with sinners. The payment of this debt is the *satisfaction* which every sinner must make to God according to the nature of his offense. For God cannot in justice remit the debt (or punishment) unless satisfaction is made. This man could never do, nor indeed any other than God himself. And yet to him as judge must this satisfaction be made. The expedient was then devised for the Son of God, as God-man, by his death to make this satisfaction. He was able to make this satis-

faction only as God; but as man he was able also to be surety for men, and then himself actually to pay the debt or make satisfaction for them.*

As we shall see presently, it is probable that Anselm himself held a rather mild form of the theory which takes its name from him. It was subsequently developed, modified, and intensified in various ways. The more extreme form of it at the end of the sixteenth century implied that, in order to make the satisfaction required, Christ must have undergone all the sufferings which would, but for his substitution, have come upon all those for whom he suffered, and that all their sins were imputed unto him, that he assumed all their guilt, and was thus regarded as guilty before God. † It is not necessary to suppose that all who were regarded as orthodox Calvinists held to this extreme view. As matter of fact, there were many who variously modified it, and in whose minds it took on a milder tone. Particularly was this true as to the amount of suffering which was thought requisite to render a complete satisfaction. To the general doctrine of satisfaction rendered, and of the imputation of man's guilt to Christ and of Christ's righteousness to man, Arminius himself, so far as I can learn, did not object, except, as before stated, as to the extent of availability.

Various modifications of this view, however, took place among the followers of Arminius after his death. At first these were not pronounced or definite. They consisted mainly in the softening of its more rigorous features and yielding to a more liberal tendency. This was certainly the case with Episcopius, who was substantially the leader of the party in his day.

Grotius, the eminent civilian, and, though a layman, one of the chiefs of the Arminian party, made the first obvious departure from the satisfaction theory as previously held by Protestants in general. He left on record, in a somewhat elaborate form, his opinions. He made a clear distinction between God as a person and God as a sovereign. He held that it was not competent for God in the former relation, namely, that of

* *Christian Theology*, p. 402.

† It was also held that the obedience of Christ would be imputed to the elect for righteousness, instead of their own obedience.

the offended party, *as such*, to inflict punishment. But as the Governor of the universe it was his duty to punish sinners. Thus the necessity was purely governmental. This distinction was no doubt philosophical and logical. *Personally* God not only could cherish no vindictive feeling toward sinners, but he was perfectly free to exercise that love for them which impelled him to devise, at an infinite cost to himself, a way whereby men could be saved notwithstanding their sins. So far this would appear to accord with the facts implied in the scriptural account of Christ's mission and teaching. But how to meet the demands of just government was another question. This Grotius held to have been accomplished, though not in the rendering of satisfaction in the Anselmian sense. So far as the payment of debts was concerned, God, like any other creditor, was at liberty to remit them without any consideration. But governmental ends could not be compassed by simply remitting the penalty which had been explicitly published as affixed to violations of law. Were this done, it might not only operate disastrously in other ways, but it would especially indicate fatal weakness and imperfectness in the divine character and government.

It is true, Grotius admitted that God might relax his law or the penalty for its violation. But he would say:

> God is not in the position of a judge who is simply a minister of the law and bound by its provisions. His position is rather that of a ruler of the moral universe, upon whom rests the office of conserving and promoting its best interests. But while God as ruler may relax the law which affixes penalty to sin, his very position as a wise and perfect ruler is a bar against any relaxation which might imply a light estimate of the claim to obedience. It tends to break down the law when its demands are not strictly asserted. Were God to proclaim a universal amnesty, and at the same time take no pains to declare his abhorrence of sin or his regard for righteousness, he would open the road to license, and endanger the security of moral government. A penal example must go along with the proclamation of amnesty. In the suffering Son of God the most effective example is provided. The sight of such a Being, of incomparable dignity, paying tribute to a broken law by his passion and death warns men that the love which offers pardon for past sins in no wise excuses from obligation to future obedience. Thus, while the law is in a sense relaxed, a suitable compensation is secured.*

* Quoted from Sheldon's *History of Doctrines*, vol. ii, p. 143.

In this view the offering of Christ was rather of the nature of a substitution than of a satisfaction. It served to express God's infinite hatred of sin, and at the same time, and in the same act, his infinite love for the sinner. Thus was manifested the divine goodness and the divine severity.

Grotius, though forming no distinct school or party based on this view of the great subject, and though his doctrines were not definitely accepted by the Arminians as a whole, was yet the pioneer in a field of thought the working of which was perhaps the imperceptible, but nevertheless the actual, cause of important doctrinal modifications in the whole theologic world. Episcopius, Curcellæus, Limborch, and other great lights of the Arminian school held largely with Grotius; yet they at the same time clung to the notion of Christ as a sacrifice to God, and as in some sense a satisfaction to the divine justice. The Arminians of the immediately subsequent period maintained a variety of opinions on the subject of the atonement, ranging all the way from the slightly modified views of Anselm to the low and loose notions of Socinus.

After these times the first complete, distinct, and systematic presentation of Arminian theology is found in the writings of Wesley, Fletcher, and Watson; notably in those of the last. But even here the system appears only in a process of development, not yet having cleared itself of much of the scholastic and metaphysical dogma of the party from which it had been originally a departure. Its anthropology was still substantially that of Augustine. The doctrine of original sin, in its radical form of inherited guilt, though softened, was not discarded. Indeed, the notions involved in and cognate to this theory still linger in writings of prominent British Wesleyans of the present day, though they are not accepted by the great majority of American Methodists.

The *soteriology* of the early Wesleyan Arminians was not widely different from that of the moderate Calvinists, at least so far as the procuring cause of redemption was concerned. There was a certain gratifying inconsistency between their theoretical theology and its practical application; but this was not such a peculiarity of this party as to occasion surprise to any moderately close observer of human nature elsewhere.

Still, the Arminian view of the atonement as set forth by these writers differed from that of the pronounced Calvinists in several important though subordinate particulars. The latter held that Christ, in order to render satisfaction to the divine justice, took upon him the sins of those for whom he died, and suffered as a just penalty for their sins, and thus rendered it possible and consistent for God to remit this penalty to them. Not all men were regarded as included in the list of those for whom he suffered, but only a select number, the remainder being left wholly unprovided for. Not all of those composing the party just now under consideration accepted the extreme view as to the *amount* of Christ's sufferings; some taking ground that they were so much as was sufficient, and that this sufficiency did not imply an amount equivalent to the natural penalty of all the offenders. Something like this appears to have been the view of the early Wesleyans, though characterized by a milder-form of statement, and especially adding the important thought that the propitiation was for the *whole race;* and, moreover, that while such satisfaction was made, that the punishment due on account of actual transgression and of inward sin might be remitted, this remission became available only through such action as each individual might voluntarily take; and that there was also involved in it the power to enable each one to take this action, but that he was free to accept or reject the proffered conditions.

It also differed, though not so clearly, from the Calvinistic view in respect to the doctrine of imputation. This was, that Adam's sin was imputed to all his descendants, and that they were punishable for his sin; but that to the elect Christ's righteousness was imputed, so that whatever might be their own moral character they were to be regarded as righteous on this account. The latter doctrine was emphatically repudiated in Wesleyan theology, though of the former notion we find many traces, and, as I have intimated, it lingers among the English Wesleyan theologians, and with a few American Methodist writers unto this day; but perhaps it is more theoretical than practical.

Watson's view of the atonement is probably as well set forth in the following passage as in any condensed statement to be found in his works. The effect of the death of Christ

upon the mind and the administration of God as the ruler of the universe

is a "satisfaction" or "contentment" of his *justice;* which means, and which can only rationally mean, the satisfaction of the mind of a just or righteous governor, disposed from the goodness of his nature to show mercy to the guilty, and who can now do it consistently with the rectitude of his character and the authority of his laws, which it is the office of punitive justice to proclaim and to uphold. The satisfaction of divine justice by the death of Christ consisted, therefore, in this: that this wise and gracious provision on the part of the Father having been voluntarily carried into effect by the Son, the just God has determined it to be as consistent with his own holy and righteous character and the ends of law and government to forgive all who have "true faith in the blood of Christ," the appointed propitiation for sin, as though they had all been personally punished for their transgression.*

Of course this statement, in order to a complete understanding of it, needs the arguments and explanations which lead up to and follow it. But we gather from it several pretty positive indications of Watson's theory: 1. We find that he rejects the Anselmian view, as interpreted by the high Calvinists, not only as to the extent of the benefits of the atonement, but also as to the character and effect of Christ's sacrifice. 2. He does not follow what we may presume to have been the original Arminian theory of the satisfaction which this sacrifice made to the retributive justice of God. 3. He distinctly differs from Grotius in that, although he leans strongly to the governmental aspect of the subject, he also insists that there must have been some satisfaction rendered to the general justice of God; distinguishing here between *general* and *retributive* justice. 4. He believes the sufferings and death of Christ to have been substitutional and propitiatory in the proper and natural sense of these terms. 5. He holds that the sacrifice of Christ was declarative of the righteousness of God.

This I take to be the substance and basis of the prevailing views among Methodist Arminians, both in England and America, to this day. There have been variations and modifications of it, to say nothing of departures from it. Dr. Raymond makes a nice distinction, which appears to me both origi-

* *Institutes,* vol. ii, p. 139.

nal and valuable, when he says that the sufferings of Christ were not a "substituted penalty," but a "substitute for a penalty," meaning that the sacrifice was such as to render it safe and consistent for God to give his love free scope and save men, instead of inflicting upon them the legitimate consequences of their sins.

There are, as it would appear, *four* more or less distinct theories of the atonement which have been held or are now held by Arminians:

1. The first is what may be called the *judicial* theory. It is, essentially, the Anselmian view as interpreted by the Calvinists, except that it repudiates the limitation in the latter, regards the benefit as available to all men at their option, and softens the more extreme features of the doctrine. This view is entertained by probably only a very few who claim to be Arminians at the present time. We might almost say, it has gone into "innocuous desuetude."

2. The second theory is that which is known as the *purely governmental.* This removes the subject from the sphere of judicial procedure, and makes it a matter of sovereignty and righteous administration. It makes the demand for an atonement to be not in the essential nature of God, but in the exigencies of moral government. "It may be deemed an expedient whereby the honor and majesty of moral government are sustained in connection with the offer of pardon to the sinner." This appears to be nearly the view maintained by Dr. Miley, of Drew Theological Seminary; but he carefully states that there is a punitive justice in God, though this is a feeling or impulse the satisfaction of which the divine nature does not necessarily demand. He says: "God as a righteous Ruler must inflict merited penalty upon sin, not, indeed, in the satisfaction of any mere personal resentment, nor in the satisfaction of any absolute retributive justice, but in the interest of moral government, or find some rectorally compensatory measure for the remission of the penalty. Such a measure there is in the redemptive mediation of Christ." This is the doctrine held by a considerable minority of theological scholars among American Methodists, including some of our most prominent men. It is also maintained by the great body of thinkers who represent what is call the Edwardean, or New England, theology in the

Congregational churches of this country. For, whatever may be the traditional and hereditary views of this school, they are in all important respects Arminians—Arminians, too, by whom Arminius himself, if now living and holding the views peculiar to himself in his day, would be regarded as a rather high Calvinist!

The main objection urged against this theory is, that it has too much the character of an ingenious device to evade a difficulty—a logical artifice—rather than a natural plan consistent with and growing out of the very nature of things.

3. The third of the leading Arminian views is what has been called the *modified governmental* theory. It claims that the sacrifice of Christ is a satisfaction to the ethical nature of God as an expedient for sustaining the honor and majesty of his government while proposing to forgive the sins of the penitent. It does not at all accept the notion that there should be a distinction between the moral *laws* and the moral *nature* of God, as held by Grotius and others. This view appears to be that held by Watson, and, as it seems to me, substantially the doctrine maintained by Pope and Raymond,* and many other Methodist writers, though variously modified by different individuals among them. It is the theory generally prevailing among Wesleyan theologians in Great Britain, and is held by a smaller proportion, though probably by a majority, of Methodist thinkers in this country. It is not without its vulnerable points, and is often assailed with no small effect.

4. The fourth theory is that of so-called *moral influence*. This does not regard the work of Christ as at all a condition on the divine side of man's restoration, whether that condition be located in the nature or the government of God. All that was needed, as is claimed, was some restoring agency, some manifestation of God's desire to restore the lost souls, and one which should powerfully and wholesomely influence them in this direction. There are several varieties of the theory which goes by this name, and they range all the way from the lowest

* Dr. Raymond's presentation of this subject is characterized by greater clearness than that of almost any other writer of this class; it is also free from some of the more objectionable features; it emphasizes and gives larger proportionate importance to the conception that the atonement was "declarative of God's righteousness;" and, as before said, it makes a somewhat unique point of the distinction between a "substituted penalty" and a "substitute for a penalty."

Socinianism, which makes the moral influence consist in the effect upon humanity produced by the example of a man of unprecedented and unparalleled goodness, up to the lofty spiritual views of Bushnell, who at least closely approximates the theory in which propitiation is an essential element. This theory is accepted by a comparatively small number of thinkers in the Methodist denominations. It was held by Coleridge, and is maintained by many of the Broad Church theologians of the Church of England. It is the theory, too, of the real Unitarians in this country, that is, of that portion of them who do not repudiate all theories which imply either the fact or the need of any restorative scheme whatever.

The chief objection to this theory is found in the conviction that it fails to meet the demands of our ethical and spiritual nature. In its lower forms it is superficial and jejune. Even in the representation of it by Bushnell, whose profound piety and obvious and intense sincerity, and whose genuine candor, added to great power of literary expression and persuasive ability, have proved a powerful attraction to many minds, something is felt to be wanting. Some even of those who are drawn into deepest sympathy with this remarkable mind nevertheless realize that this conception does not meet their deepest wants nor satisfy the requirements of their souls. And yet Bushnell's view is something much more than a mere moral influence theory. It rather implies a mighty spiritual power secured and brought in by the sacrifice of Christ, and made operative for the salvation of human souls. But even so, the texts of Scripture which require ingenious explanation in order to their adjustment to this theory are too numerous and too weighty to afford satisfaction to most minds.

For the most part, this discussion has been confined to the one point of the *atonement proper*, only referring incidentally to the general scheme of redemption. It is possible that we have fallen too much into a habit of regarding atonement and redemption as synonymous terms. There is a radical distinction between them, which it is well to keep clearly in mind. The plan of redemption includes all that has been going on from the foundation of the world, and perhaps long before, for the deliverance, salvation, and glorification of men. All the preparation of the world for the advent and mission of Christ, all

that he did and suffered, and all that has since been done by his intercessions, by the ministry of the Spirit, the agency of the Church and of good men to restore humanity, together with the providence of God in history—these all are comprised in the grand scheme of redemption. The atonement proper is the one central sacrifice made by Christ to remove whatever obstacle there might be to man's pardon; the pivotal point on which the whole scheme rests—not only the *sine qua non* of the vast complicated plan, but the essential and vital element in it. This allows large range and the widest scope for moral influence, including all the spiritual forces which Christ brought into the world and which can never be unduly magnified.

But this, also, implies that there was *some obstacle* which only an infinite sacrifice, prompted by infinite love, could remove. What if we do not know just what, or very nearly what, this obstacle was! It certainly is not absolutely necessary that we should comprehend it. Of the many millions who have lived and died in the firm faith of the Christ offered as a propitiation for the sins of the world, probably not one in a thousand has ever had a clear or definite theory which answered the question as to what made it necessary on the side of God that Christ should die. Yet the common sense of the great mass of those who have an intelligent faith makes it appear clear to them that, if the Bible teaches any thing, it is that through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ a way, otherwise impossible, has been provided whereby pardon may be granted to the guilty and sinners saved from their sins.

G. M. Steele.

Art. II.—MEMORIALS OF THE TOLTEC RACE.*

The thread of Mexican history is rapidly losing its tangled character. Never, in any part of the world's annals, have more serious mistakes been made than here, or wrong impressions been permitted to remain uncorrected for a longer time, or more unaccountable differences prevailed among honest historic seekers for the exact truth of a condition involving vast religious interests. It is only since the birth of the Mexican republic (fifty years), and the later removal of the Roman Catholic Church from special privileges throughout the land, that we are beginning to see what kind of a rule the Spaniards exercised over Mexico for three black centuries; what methods were employed by the Jesuits to propagate their doctrines; and what pains have constantly been taken to conceal the operations of a cruel Inquisition which prevailed over a territory about twenty-five hundred miles from north to south, and from Vera Cruz, on the Gulf of Mexico, to Acapulco, on the Pacific coast.

M. Charnay, the author of *The Ancient Cities of the New World*, is the latest inquirer into this rich and still uncertain field. His task brings him only remotely into relation with the fundamental questions involved in Spanish rule. But whatever light is thrown on the Mexican centuries long before Cortez caught sight of the icy peak of Orizaba while still sixty miles at sea, and landed on the spot where Vera Cruz now stands, and marched up to Mexico city and brought to an end the dynasty of the Aztecs, is of the gravest importance to the entire course of Mexican history. Every ray which falls on one spot, whether Toltec, Aztec, or Spanish, reveals some of the truth which belongs to all. For history is a combination of symmetries. Nothing is really violent. Every effect has its kindred cause. Hence every fact, from whatever period it is lifted into the field of vision, helps us the better to see the symmetry of the whole, and to determine the moral forces

* *The Ancient Cities of the New World.* Being Voyages and Explorations in Mexico and Central America, 1857–1882. By M. Désiré Charnay. Translated from the French by J. Gonino and Helen S. Conant. Enriched by 250 illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

which gave color and form to the peoples and their civilizations.

It is well worth the while to glance at some of M. Charnay's predecessors in this enchanting field of Mexican archæology and history. Humboldt, in the glow and vivacity of his youth, made the tour from South America northward, and was the first to bring both the natural wealth and the monumental remains of Mexico to the knowledge of the scientific world.* Ward, still later, dwelt more particularly on the mining resources of the country, and in this respect has not even yet been superseded.† Lord Kingsborough, a little later, produced the most sumptuous work on the antiquities of Mexico that has ever appeared.‡ All the collections of the Old World were drawn upon to add to the completeness and wealth of this colossal undertaking. John L. Stevens, of New York, in his works on Central America and Yucatan, did more to popularize this region and create an interest in its present life and monuments than any other traveler.§ Prescott has dealt with the history alone, and confined himself to the Spanish conquest, with a preliminary view of the ancient Mexican civilization.‖ Squier and Brantz Mayer have also been original seekers in this field.¶

In addition to all these literary causes of the increase of popular interest in Mexico and its antiquities three important events must be considered: the war between the United States and Mexico in 1845, the attempt of Napoleon III. to erect an empire under Maximilian, and the opening of direct railroad

* *Vues des Cordilleres et Monumens des Peuples Indigenès de l'Amerique.* Paris, 1810. (This work contains sixty-nine large plates of Mexican picture writing, hieroglyphics, bas-reliefs, costumes, and views, and was published at the price of 567 francs per copy.)

† *Mexico in* 1827. 2 vols. London, 1828.

‡ *Antiquities of Mexico.* 9 vols., imperial folio, with upward of one thousand plates. London, 1830–48.

§ *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.* 2 vols. New York, 1841. (The sale of this work in the United States in four months was fourteen thousand copies.) *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan.* 2 vols. New York: 1843.

‖ *History of the Conquest of Mexico.* 3 vols. New York, 1843.

¶ Squier, *Notes on Central America.* New York, 1855. *Nicaragua.* 2 vols. New York, 1853. Mayer, *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish and Republican.* 2 vols. Hartford, 1853.

communication between this country and Mexico. Within the last five years many works have been produced in the United States which are the result either of scientific investigation, as with Bandelier; or of travel and observation, as with Bishop Gilbert Haven and E. E. Hale; or of industrial and commercial interests, as with Castro; or of general information for the traveling public, as with Conkling and Janvier. The work of M. Charnay is entirely in the archæological interest, and yet so much incidental matter is deftly interwoven with the scientific treatment that his work is a charming piece of mosaic. The illustrations, for the most part made by himself from photographs and sketches on the spot, are exceedingly rich. The volume, as a whole, is a joint triumph of the art of the publisher and the skill and enterprise of the author.

The author visited Mexico in 1857, having been sent out as a delegate by the French government to explore parts of the country. In 1880 he was again commissioned by the French government to study the monuments of Mexico and explore the country. At the same time Mr. Peter Lorillard, of New York, determined to fit out a scientific expedition for the same purpose. By a little good management M. Charnay was enabled to combine the two objects, and headed the expedition, which bore the name of the Franco-American Mission. He had valuable helpers during his tour, and all needful appliances for local investigations. The fruit of his journey, as a literary achievement, is so valuable that it must occupy a permanent place beside the productions both of historians and scientists in the field of Mexican investigation.

We are always fascinated by a man who writes with a purpose. It is all the better if he never forgets his purpose, and builds up his argument by all the helps he can find. Even history is best written if the historian aims at proving things. We do not care for his party, and if now and then his political preferences come out too plainly it only serves as a little spice to season the dish. One of the great charms of Macaulay is, that he never forgets that he is fighting a Whig battle on every page of his *History of England*. His history is none the less charming and instructive on that account. The partisan part we may call padding, and pass it by. What author do we ever read in whom we do not find many a paragraph which, with

much saving of time, and sometimes of patience, we can easily omit?

Now one of the great attractions of M. Charnay is, that he is trying to prove something; namely, that the Toltecs are a recent people—certainly not over a thousand years old—and that the great temples and palaces of the valley of Mexico and Yucatan and Guatemala, which they built, give positive proof of the late civilization of that remarkable people. He never forgets this purpose. He knows very well that there are many Mexican explorers who assign to the builders an antiquity far beyond the dimmest dawn of modern times; who assert that the Mexican memorials in stone, terra cotta, and obsidian go well back to the splendid times of the Assyrian and Egyptian civilizations, and that the builders enjoyed an enlightenment hardly inferior to that of those advanced peoples. The magnificence and humane qualities of the Toltecs are constantly before M. Charnay. Whenever he gets out of their track he seems ill at ease. But when he camps on the ruins of a Toltec palace or within the sacred inclosure of one of the temples he forgets the tedium of his journey, the wretched cooking of his François, and the abounding mud and reptiles, and lets his imagination find play in the glories of the splendid race who have left those magnificent ruins. It matters not that his predecessors pay no such high tribute to the Toltec empire as M. Charnay does. Such slight difficulties do not disturb him in the least. He goes right on with his excavations, sees in every vase and relief and toy wagon only proofs of his argument, and now and then congratulates himself on his discovery. When he wanders away from the pathway of the Toltec race, as when he visits the splendid ruins of Mitla, in Guatemala, he loses interest in his subject, but, unwilling to let any advantage be taken of those magnificent remains of a dead civilization, he makes no concealment of his pleasure when, in the last sentence of his work, he quotes both Torquemada and Orosco in proof that there is a "Toltec influence in these monuments."

There are many respects in which all the Mexican authorities agree. One of these is the historic order of the civilizations, whatever be the divergence on the question of antiquity and the relative splendor of the pre-Hispano empires. No one doubts that the founders of the magnificent cities and the archi-

tects of the sculptured edifices, now only in part revealed to the explorer, were, first of all, the Toltecs. These were succeeded by a group of tribes who came from some mysterious source, and in due time were reduced to the surviving fittest—the Aztecs—who ruled over the region formerly occupied by the Toltecs, and whose supremacy continued until violently terminated by the Spaniards under Cortez. The general dates assigned by M. Charnay for the two civilizations are, say, seven centuries for the Toltecs, or from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries; and two centuries for the Aztecs, or from the fourteenth to the sixteenth. The great wealth of Mexican architecture and sculpture, which every year is coming to the light in numerous and varied forms, is, if we follow this author, the outgrowth of the Toltec civilization, while the time during which the Aztecs ruled was too short for any great development of national fiber.

The question of the origin of the Toltecs, as well as of the Aztecs, who succeeded them, is of the gravest character. The students of Mexican antiquities are confronted by it at the beginning of all their inquiries. The three theories for accounting for the origin of the American races are thus stated by Mr. A. T. Rice, in his valuable introduction to M. Charnay's work:

> First, that the American races are autochthonic, and this was held by Agassiz, in accordance with his doctrine of multiple centers of creation; second, that they are of one blood with the races inhabiting the Eastern Continent, from whom they were separated by the subsidence of the intervening land; third, that they represent a migration from Asia, *via* Behring Strait, or across the Pacific in lower latitudes.

The third is the most probable hypothesis, and has the support of the strongest archæological evidence. The monumental remains of the Toltecs bear so many striking reminders of the Japanese and Chinese that it is well-nigh impossible to escape the conviction that they are of the same race. M. Charnay proves, by a Toltec temple in Palenque, a most striking resemblance to the sacred Japanese architecture. He suggests the influence of a Japanese civilization through the extensive commerce carried on in the remote past on the north-west of America, and by the fortuitous immigration resulting from shipwrecks.

But apart from this author we hold that the great races of Mexico and Central America are descendants of immigrants from Asia by the way of Behring Strait. The type is thoroughly Asiatic, and the methods of architecture are of as close resemblance as the new conditions and the long flight of time since leaving the old home would naturally permit. While the origin of the North American Indians, and of the various rude tribes of South America which bear no analogy to the finer types, the Toltec and Aztec, is a question too remote for our present inquiry, we may say: Supposing all the races of America to have descended from Asiatic immigrants by the way of Behring Strait, the varieties of character, and the degree of civilization, and the extremes in the capacity of government can be fully accounted for by climate and other natural causes. If the nomadic Indian of the territory now occupied by the United States is many degrees lower than the Toltec and the Aztec of Mexico, one must remember that the races which migrated from Asia, in small colonies and by a long wandering, may have been of the same extremes of character. The varieties of race observable in the Italian and the Albanian of the south, and those of the Russian, the Finn, and the Lapp in the north, would argue nothing more than immigrations from different starting points, and at different times, with climate, opportunity, natural wealth, and neighbors to exert their potency and cause a constantly increasing diversity.

We shall now confine our attention to the Toltecs. To study them aright, we must follow the track of empire. In the splendor of their power they ruled at Tula, a city not far from the city of Mexico. To-day it is only a wide field which the husbandman has been plowing for three centuries, and has only stopped within the last few years to let such rude disturbers of his peace as M. Charnay, and others of similar rudeness, stop awhile, and dig out some of the buried treasures, and then move off again. But the Mexican has the advantage. No sooner does the intruder leave, and pack up his finds, than the native of the soil begins to fill up the great holes with broken pillars, massive statues, and every thing else that the stranger could not carry off. If other curious people will only stay away long enough, it will not be twelve months before the crops will be again growing above the

splendid remnants of the buried palaces and temples of a great empire.

Tula may be considered a typical reminder of the ancient Toltec splendor. In former times, say six hundred years ago, it stretched far and wide over the plain, and hugged the lower slopes of Popocatepetl. The delightful air from the icy heights fanned the people as they sat in their courts, and listened to the play of the fountains, and witnessed the sports of their children. The market-place, in the morning used for the sale of every kind of produce and manufacture, and in the evening the resort of young and old for small talk and easy games, was the busiest part of the whole capital. But the Aztecs put an end to all this peaceful life. The city was conquered. The people who were not killed, and were skillful enough to escape, drifted southward, where they lingered for a time in comparative quiet until at last borne away by the wave of conquest. The Tula of to-day is but the faintest echo of the old-time metropolis. The Pyramid of the Sun is only a vast mound of rude stones, so irregular in their position as to give one a poor idea of the original outline. Here, in one place, is a Toltec caryatid, seven feet high. The legs and feet are all that remain of this fine basalt figure. The greaves and ornamental carvings are still quite complete, and, though archaic, are of pleasing effect. Here lies a broken column, whose exterior is carved with feathers, palms, and serpents' scales. It is not a monolith, but in parts which fit into each other in sockets, like the polygons of the Giant's Causeway. Here, wonder of wonders! is a fine tennis-ring; for tennis was a game of the Toltecs, and there is every proof that they were attached to it. So much were they devoted to it, that, as with the baseball craze of our day, different communities competed with one another. One city played against another, and, if we may believe one of the historians, Veytia, the betting was enormous, and every thing, even liberty itself, was staked on the result. Here, in another place, is the stone profile of a warrior in full armor.

But these individual ruins are as nothing compared to the excavations of palaces and temples of Tula, which, in the remote days, bore the name of Palpan. The whole plateau on the hill was occupied by a royal park, and possibly by the residences of a few nobles. Two sides were fenced by a natural wall of per-

pendicular rocks, overhanging the river. Mounds, pyramids, and esplanades are to be found at frequent intervals. Here were the royal villas, the great temples, and all the public buildings. But not a trace of a building is to be found. The luxuriant cactuses, nopals, gum-trees, mesquites, and gorambullos cover all the space. In one direction, by a little digging, Lemaire unearthed the first Toltec house. Cisterns, sleeping apartments, frescoed walls, seats, courts, and entrances have been as clearly identified as the various parts of a Pompeian house. A cement pavement connected the houses, but the pavement of the inner rooms was of red cement. Here, too, is the ground-plan of the ancient Toltec palace. This was the center of the greatest power in North America. The fragments of walls are so large and so well defined that there is no mistake as to the identity. Many curious objects were brought up by the busy spade of M. Charnay, such as huge baked bricks, filters, straight and curved water-pipes, vases, seals, knives of obsidian, and other strange articles.

From Tula M. Charnay proceeded to Teotihuacan, a ruined Toltec city still nearer to the present city of Mexico. Here, too, was a palace of the Toltecs, and its entire outline has been unearthed. In digging, the explorer came at once upon some cement, and this served as proof that he was on the site of an ancient city. In due time he came on enough of passage ways and halls to reveal the entire ground-plan of the principal ruins of Teotihuacan. The Pyramid of the Sun, the Citadel, the Pyramid of the Moon, the Palace, and the Path of Death were all made plain. Vases of black clay, a molded mask, an ax, and obsidian knives were discovered. No glass was found, nor was any expected, as the races of Mexico did not know the art of making it.

The plan of M. Charnay took him up to the side of Mount Popocatepetl, where he found an immense ancient cemetery, and succeeded in bringing to light some rich pottery of exquisite coloring, together with other valuable memorials of the Toltec period. He then proceeded to Vera Cruz, where he sailed along the coast, and finally landed in Chiapas. Hence he proceeded to Yucatan, Honduras, and Guatemala, and after terrible hardships in the last named country returned to the city of Mexico.

The ruins of southern Mexico in the States of Chiapas and Yucatan are on a magnificent scale. The luxuriant tropical vegetation has grown so rapidly that the courts and halls of ancient palaces and temples have become a very wilderness of creepers and trees. The insect and reptile worlds have added their tribute to the wildness of the places. But by the industry and enterprise of the archæologist the forest of loathsome animal life and rich growths of plant and tree have been pushed aside. The camera has been planted in the midst of the wayward vines, and made to reproduce the sculptured wealth which still lives here, the only witness to the magnificence of the distant days. Pyramid and temple mingle in strange brotherhood. In Comalcalco one sees a vast pyramid, a great palace, over and through whose covering of earth a very forest has grown and thrust its long and tangled roots, towers of massive construction, and a great entrance to a subterranean hall. The carvings which cover all these monumental ruins are minute, purposeful, and of great delicacy of finish.

But Comalcalco is greatly surpassed by the far-famed ruins of Palenque. Here are palaces and temples in abundance. One palace court abounds in rich bas-reliefs. There are now empty niches in the corridors and apartments of the palace, which once, no doubt, contained figures in honor of gods and men. There are still rich decorations over doorways, while towers stand out at favorable angles of the palace to aid in defense. The temples are still so well defined that one can tell, by various unmistakable signs, the special names which they bore far, far back in those days when Spain, the later conqueror, had not emerged from its gross provincial character as a part of the later Roman empire. Here we find a Temple of Inscriptions, a Temple of the Sun, and a Temple of the Cross. Each portion of the temple was considered a fit place for the display of the sculptor's art. Much of the ornament was of stucco, put on as relief, which has proven to be so firm, even beneath the wasting climate of Yucatan, as still to present almost the appearance of being a part of the very stone itself. The staircases of the palaces were favorite places for inscriptions, as if one could easily learn the wisdom of history while in the slow process of ascending.

In Izamal the Toltec ruins are of less number and splendor.

Pyramids and palaces, as elsewhere throughout southern Mexico, take the lead of all other ruins. Here is one pyramid whose basement is a colossal head. Every-where there are reminders of the distant times when this great Toltec people lived in all this region. At Chicen-itza we find repeated the magnificence of Palenque. Here are great sculptured columns, heavy door-posts, bas-reliefs from pillars of a sanctuary, a temple in the very center of a great tennis court, tigers' bas-reliefs on a portion of the tennis court, statues of Tlaloc, a Toltec god. Uxmal is not behind Chicen-itza in magnificent remains. Many of the ornamentations remind one of the finishing of the early Hindu temples, especially of the old temple of Sarânath, in the suburbs of Benares. The elaborate architecture of Uxmal amazes one by its scope and finish. The taste of the Toltec was refined and venturesome. His arch was almost Gothic, but with less curve, and every part was ornamented with figures and plants. He built firmly for the future. As to where he lived, excepting only the palaces of his emperors, he cared but little. Hence we have but few remains of the private and humble homes of the people. The temple where the Toltec worshiped is to this day his finest monument. Worship with him was his passion. Every pyramid of the Toltec race meant worship. The ancient Egyptian built his pyramids as burial places, but the Toltec built his as a basis for a temple. The present Roman Catholic church which crowns the top of the pyramid of Cholula, a few miles from Puebla, gives one a fair idea of the early use made of the pyramid. It was only a pedestal, although of vast area and graceful slope, for a temple.

A visit to Tikal, Copan, and Mitla completes the tour of our ever-cheerful and companionable guide. The ruins here are also fine, but the Toltec origin is not so clear, and hence our traveler, who is to the end in ardent search for proofs of his theory, takes less interest in them.

We must rejoice that through such a scientific companion as M. Charnay, with all the other explorers in this delightful field, so much light has been thrown on the early inhabitants of Mexico and Central America.

The leading place in that strange civilization we must concede to have been occupied by the Toltecs. They were

prudent rulers, and had public granaries, which, like the Egyptians, they opened in time of famine. Their entire system of government was paternal and patriarchal. They had military orders and titles, which they bestowed on men distinguished in the field or in council. They were passionately devoted to education. They made education a national duty. At Utatlan there was a school of seventy teachers and five or six thousand pupils, all educated at the public expense.* They had schools of art, and we cannot doubt their public buildings took their beauty and finish from wise and gifted masters.

Unlike the Aztec, the Toltec never made human sacrifices to his gods. His nature was humane and forbearing. His aspirations beyond the grave were free from grossness and cruelty. His heaven was a resting-place for the weary, a perpetual spring, amid fields of yellow maize, verdure, and flowers. His offerings were fruits, flowers, and birds. His laws were the same for high and low. He prohibited polygamy, and not even kings were allowed concubines. There were mosaists, painters, and smelters of gold and silver. The jewelers and lapidaries could imitate all manner of animals, plants, and birds. The people possessed the art of interweaving with fine cotton the delicate hair of animals and birds' feathers. The cross was to them a favorite symbol, which they never wearied of employing in sacred architecture. As to where they derived the figure history gives no sign; but we find the symbol, under many varieties, wherever the Toltecs built and lived. They possessed the art of making implements of fine quality where copper was the principal part; but their sculptures were executed by delicate implements of obsidian.

Still, with all these powers of achievement, and with a vast number of the great monuments before us, the last word on this wonderful race, the Toltecs, has not been said; but, for that matter, has the last word been said on any race which rose and ruled and fell? The earth has many a story yet to tell of those who have vexed its crust. J. F. Hurst.

* Juarros, *Compendio de la Hist. de la Ciudad de Guatemala*, tom. i, p. 87. Cited from Charnay.

Art. III. — PROBATION AS INFLUENCED BY THE STUDY OF GOD'S WORD.

Among the fundamental propositions or doctrines of the Christian religion there are three which hold prominent place. The first is, that of man's immortality; that there is for him a future endless life. To this fact religion, as commonly understood, owes its chief interest. Setting aside the fact of immortality—of future endless being—it is doubtful if men would have any special interest in cultivating religious ideas or in aiming at religious lives. In morals they would indeed be concerned, because morality is necessary both to human happiness and to human existence. But the chief, the strongest motive to religion, seems to be borrowed from the idea of a life to come.

The second proposition of Christianity is, that the knowledge man needs concerning the future life, concerning its fact and the relations in which he is to put himself to that fact, has been made known to him, and that the medium of that knowledge is the sacred Scriptures—the book which we call the Bible. This fact of a communication of this knowledge would seem to follow as a postulate, a necessity from the first. Grant that the Author of man's being has destined him for another life; that some action is necessary on man's part in order to put himself in right relations to that life; then there would seem to be a demand on the justice and goodness of the Creator to convey to man, in some way, knowledge of these things. But this knowledge is not conveyed by nature; question her as much as we will, she is inexorably, pitilessly dumb. It is not announced by reason; the best reason can do is to draw some inferences. Christianity assumes that it has been conveyed by a special divine revelation, and that this revelation is contained in these Scriptures. At all events, if it is not here Christianity dares affirm it is nowhere; if light on these absorbing themes streams not from this source there is no light, and we are wrapped in impenetrable darkness.

The third proposition of the Christian system is, that these great truths of immortality are definitely, clearly, and positively revealed; so that man, coming to the Scriptures in the

right way, with a right spirit, may learn them. This proposition would seem to follow also as a postulate—a necessity from the two first. Let it be conceded that there is a future endless life for man; that this life and all he needs to know concerning it have been revealed to him in these Scriptures and there only, then the Scriptures must be intelligible to him; it must be in his power, if he will, to acquaint himself with all needful knowledge on this subject. Evidently an obscure, doubtful revelation would be of no use to him; it might as well not have been given. Christianity maintains that as to all *essential* knowledge the Scriptures are clear and intelligible, and that no man need fail to find in them the truth of God.

That these statements of the Christian faith and doctrine are correct may be seen by reference to those formulas in which the creeds of the Church universal are set forth. We might quote these at length, but presume that to our readers quotations are needless.

Assuming, then, the three propositions—that of a future endless life; that this life and all connected with it which man needs to know have been revealed in the Scripture; that this revelation is so clear and positive that no one need mistake its meaning—all who will may learn here the mind of God—then it follows of necessity that the salvation of every soul to whom the Scriptures are accessible—on whom the light of this divine revelation has shone—depends on the attitude he may assume toward those Scriptures. And that attitude must be one of two. Either he must willfully reject this testimony of God, turn away from it without examination, without an effort to find there this life and the way to it, or he must come to the Scriptures and exercise the powers God has given him in an effort at interpretation—an effort to learn there the truth given. In the first case, the man settles the question of his salvation simply by neglect; he willfully turns his back upon the light, and in a spirit wholly devoid of reverence, candor, and sincerity walks away into darkness. For such action, it would seem, there can be no excuse.

In the second case, where the man approaches the Scriptures seeking their light on the way to life, the question of his salvation will depend largely, if not wholly, on his way of interpreting them. Observe again, and carefully, this fundamental

assumption of Christianity. It is, that the fact of eternal life and all relating to it that man needs to know, is here. It is revealed upon these pages, and so revealed that none need mistake it; all who will may find it. The question is, Will the man find here eternal life; its fact, and the way to obtain it? Naturally, we would reply, He will; he cannot fail to do so. These things are discoverable, and he will not fail to discover them because he is immensely interested in their discovery. But is that answer justified by what we often see as to the results of searching the Scriptures? Do these inquirers after the truth of God always find it?

Two facts confront us here, and they are certainly facts of no little moment. One is, that men interpret the Scriptures differently; truth there is not to one what it is to another. One man finds in the Bible what another does not, and says he cannot, find; one affirms as true what another denies. We see two men of equal mental endowments, both equally capable of reaching truth, with the same word of revelation, and, we must think also the same divine Spirit of illumination, yet in their inquiries after truth, in their efforts to learn the mind of God, they reach utterly diverse conclusions; and that, too, be it observed, not only in reference to things which may be regarded as non-essentials, but also in things which must be reckoned essential. This, as we know, is a fact of frequent occurrence.

A second fact is, that these men cannot both be right; for truth cannot be contradictory. It must be one and consistent; therefore we are driven to the conclusion either that the truth is not discoverable to one of the parties—he could not find it—or he has failed to search for it in the way that he might and ought to have searched. But we have assumed that truth—the mind of God—*is*, *must be*, discoverable; otherwise it might as well not have been revealed. How is it, then, we may fitly inquire, that men thus situated, with equal opportunity and power, see truth in such different lights? How is it, for example, that one sees in the Scriptures the doctrine of miracles and believes it, but another does not see it and declares he cannot? Another sees there the doctrine of the supreme deity of Jesus Christ, another that of endless punishment, or of the atonement of Christ, or of future probation, but others see none of them. All about us are men who find these teachings in the Script-

ures, and reverently, fully, believe them; others do not find, and so deny them. What is the explanation of this? We can, perhaps, anticipate the reply that is on the lips of a portion, if not all, of our readers. We will not now voice it, but call attention to some points which seem clear and certain, and on which, probably, most will be agreed.

The first is, that fundamental position of theology, that man's relation to the Scriptures is simply that of an interpreter. He is not an author, not an originator, of truth. The truth is revealed from God, and man's business, his only business, is to find it and explain it correctly. The relation of man to religious truth is the same as his relation to the truths of nature and philosophy. It was the dictum of Lord Bacon, the corner-stone of his system of philosophy, that "man is the priest and interpreter of nature."* He is simply to ask questions of nature, and hear what she has to say in reply. He is not to invent answers of his own, nor give to those of nature the color of his own conceptions, prejudices, or desires. He is to take nature—the universe about him—just as it is, and inquire of it, and listen for its answer only. That is admitted to be the spirit of true philosophy. Not less is it the spirit of true religion. Man is to approach the Scriptures just as he approaches nature, and take them just as they are. In them, as we assume, is the mind, the revelation, of God. And the simple question is, What is that mind—that revelation? Not what does man think it is or ought to be, nor what would he like it to be. But he is to find it as God has given it. "What saith the Lord?" That he is to discover, and interpret to himself and to others to the best of his ability.

Secondly, having done this, having come to the Scriptures, the fountain-head of life and light, and having done all he can in an honest, humble, and teachable way to interpret God, to learn his mind and will, he can do no more. He must then be acquitted. Whatever may be his conclusion, right or wrong—whether he reach truth or error—he must then be accepted of God. This would seem to be the affirmation of both reason and revelation.

And just here, as it seems to us, is the vital point of the whole matter: this doing all one can to interpret rightly the

* *Homo naturæ minister et interpres.*

Scriptures to find in them God and life. Here are the two questions, and in them is all with which man is concerned. They are the two proposed by our Lord to the lawyer who came to him with the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" The first is, "What is written in the law?" in the book of God. Something is there written, and it claims to be God's truth. Behind this veil of words is this great thing that man needs to know, believe, and do. His only concern is to find that; to read out of it the thing that God has put into it. The question with him is not what other men may read, or think, or do. It is not, What did the fathers read or teach? what was Luther's, or Calvin's, or Wesley's doctrine? In the ultimate issue no commentator, expositor, or other religious teacher can settle the matter for him. God has put into the man's hands his own book, and holds him responsible to read and interpret it himself. If other men can help him to interpret and understand, then he ought to go to them for help. It is a part of his duty, as we have already said, to do all he can; to avail himself of all the aids that God has made available. Like the bee, he is to cull honey from every flower that blooms; but in the exercise of his own powers he is to try this honey by the word of God, and so decide whether it is the divinely-provided food for his soul.

This, then, is the first great question, "What is written in the law?" Here are the words; what will the man find in them by his own searching, and by the help of others? What will he read into them? What will he read out of them? What will he read between their lines?

The answer to this first question depends chiefly on that which will be given to the second. That second question is, "How readest thou?" With what mind, what spirit and purpose, will the man dig into these treasures of wisdom and knowledge? Will he come simply as an interpreter of God, ready and willing to hear, believe, and practice any thing which God may offer? Or will he come with prejudices, preferences, and opinions of his own, and through this dimming veil see God; by the light thus cast, interpret him?

Here, if we mistake not, is one of two great elements of human probation. Probation, as commonly understood, is to do all one can to find and obey the truth of God in this earthly,

temporal life. Granted that God has provided eternal life for man, it seems certain that he who does these two will obtain it. The nature of God pledges it to him. But there are very great difficulties in the way of both. We need not now speak of the difficulties to be met in doing God's will after it has been discovered. The purpose of this paper is rather to call attention to the difficulties in the way of reading the word of God; of so interpreting the Scriptures as to learn what God has there said. These we conceive to be chiefly three:

1. Those arising from the human reason. One of the first demands which the man finds imposed upon him, as he opens the book to read what is there written is, that he shall believe; he shall assent to what is therein stated as true, as binding on his faith and conduct. This demand, it must be confessed, is exacting, and sometimes very hard. It is a great trial, a great test to the soul; for, we are to observe, the mind cannot give its assent without evidence. There must be some evidence that the thing assented to is true, is worthy of belief. And what evidence have we that the things which the Scriptures require us to believe are true, are worthy of belief, and so ought to be believed? For some of them, let us remember, and these among the most vital and important of all, there is no evidence save the testimony of God himself. Besides the declaration of God that these are truths of his eternal counsel and will, there is no authority whatever. No man *knows* them to be true; no man has ever known or can know them to be true. No man can comprehend, much less explain them. They are utterly beyond the reach of his intellect, beyond the utmost grasp of his reason. In any light through which he can gaze at them, save the light of faith, they seem impossible. And the demand, absolute, unyielding, is, that he shall believe them on the evidence given, and on this alone. No matter how contradictory to all evidence of his senses they may appear; no matter how contrary to any laws whose phenomena are known to him; no matter how deep and dark the mystery which enwraps them; yea, no matter how much they may wring his own heart and soul, still there is the demand; he must believe. On the authority of God he must take them to be true, and with that be content.

We need not stay to show that this is a probation, a trial,

great and terrible; that here many a soul finds its greatest conflict. For we perceive at once the difficulty here. Reason, that god-like faculty in man, rises up, and against this demand of God asserts its demand; it would assert and maintain its own prerogatives. But wherein do these two clash? Whence comes the conflict between what reason claims and what God requires us to believe? One thing must be held as certain: revelation can require nothing which is contrary to reason; the two must be in harmony. Revelation, we are sure, cannot require belief in the impossible or the absurd. But it does require belief on testimony alone; belief without any evidence such as in other cases reason is permitted to have. And therein lies the great trial.

In two ways reason is led to give its assent to facts or propositions which are presented to it. First, when by perception, comparison, judgment, and inference it can raise the thing from the sphere of speculation, from the possible or probable, to that of actual knowledge; or, in other words, when it can prove it to be true by those processes which reason ordinarily employs.

Second, reason assents to a fact or proposition when it is seen and known to be true. It requires no proof that it is as stated, for the fact that it is, is self-evident. Reason may not comprehend it, may not understand how it can be, but sees, nevertheless, that it is. But some of the most vital facts of revelation do not come under either of these heads. Reason cannot prove them, cannot raise them to the plane of knowledge, because it has no data, no other facts of the required nature, on which to base its operations. Nor is reason compelled to assent because the truth of the thing asserted is before it, and cannot be questioned. The class of truths to which the Scriptures demand assent are unique and exceptional. How can reason prove the trinity of persons in the Godhead, the immortality of the soul, the endlessness of future retribution, the resurrection of the body, or the justice and benevolence of the dealings of God with men upon earth? It has no existing precedent facts on which, as stepping-stones, to ascend to these. Evidently they must be accepted wholly on testimony, if accepted at all. We cannot prove them, cannot understand them; we do not see that they are. We are shut up to the alternative of believing that they are, simply because God in revelation has declared

them, or of rejecting them altogether. And the disposition of reason, if allowed to assert itself, is to doubt, deny, reject. Its disposition is to apply to the supernatural the same tests that it applies to the natural; to comprehend, understand, and explain.

But God in revelation will not be tested as will God in nature. He hides himself from reason's searching gaze and refuses to be comprehended or explained. Out from these Scriptures sounds a voice, and it cries, "Hear ye the word of the Lord;" and believe it because it is the word of the Lord: not because you comprehend it, because you can prove it to be true; not because you can see it to be wise and good and just. But accept it, trust it, obey it on the authority of faith in it as the word of God.

Here is man's first difficulty in interpretation, in reading the Scriptures so as to find there truth and life; here is the first element of his probation. The temptation is to read through reason's eyes rather than through the eyes of faith; to believe because he sees, comprehends, knows, rather than though he may do neither. The trial is to enthrone faith above reason, while reason clamors to be lifted above faith. Faith must precede knowledge; he must believe some things in order to know them, and others though he cannot know them. Reason is affronted at this place assigned it in revelation; it would reverse God's order. Reason must sit at the feet of revelation, and take its words unquestioned. But this, it must be confessed, is a lowly place, and proud reason rebels. The trial, the probation, here is great, too great for many. Over this barrier which reason erects many do not climb; over it they stumble and fall. He who insists on reading God's word by the light of reason alone sees the truth of life in forms indistinct, indefinite, doubtful; yea more, in reason's light truth is sometimes altogether hidden. It is only when faith's clearer, more penetrating light falls on the sacred page that truth is seen; then

> "The invisible appears in sight,
> And God is seen by mortal eyes."

Happy he whose eyes catch that vision; who has learned the reasonableness of believing in the inscrutable, the incomprehensible, the unknown; who has learned that greatest of all lessons, that faith is the revealer of God.

A little while before his death, that eminent French statesman, Gambetta, said to a friend, "Who knows about the future? It is a great toss-up [uncertainty] what lies on the other side of death." Yes, to the eye of cold reason, of worldly wisdom and philosophy, it is indeed a toss-up, a huge uncertainty at best. But not so to the eye and ear of faith. Faith pierces the shade, and cries, with Stephen, "I see heaven opened;" with Paul, "There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." The ear of faith hears a voice breaking the dumb silence of nature, reason, and worldly wisdom, and, with John in Patmos, is sure it is not human—it is the voice of God. But to so see, to so hear, is indeed a probation, and he who can meet its test has in great measure overcome the world; he has surmounted the first, and to man the greatest, difficulty in the way to eternal life.

2. The second difficulty to be met in the effort to interpret the Scriptures is, human pride. But what is this thing that we call pride? We are sufficiently familiar with it in language and in experience, but a brief analysis of it may help to measure its adverse influence in our attempts to learn from the Scriptures the mind of God. We know there is a principle or quality recognized in the Bible bearing this name, and that it is every-where spoken of as something of great evil, specially displeasing in the sight of God and injurious to man. Against scarcely any other principle of evil are more impressive admonitions and warnings uttered; more than almost any other does this appear as a bar between God and man. It is every-where and most emphatically represented as utterly inconsistent with, utterly opposed to, the divine favor. God and man cannot approach each other where it exists. What, then, is this forbidden thing, this formidable obstacle which we call pride? It consists of two elements or qualities. The one is undue exaltation of self; inordinate, unreasonable esteem of self; the other abasement, disesteem of others. Its cardinal vice is to attribute to self more than its just right, and to others less than theirs. Its prevailing disposition is to be in subjection to self only, and to repel subjection to another; to rebel against all restriction and all control which may in any way interfere with what it considers the rights of self. Such essentially is pride—the thing that lives in every human soul, and more or less sways

every human life. How opposite, how antagonistic it is to the whole spirit and teaching of the Scriptures may readily be seen. Manifestly it must prove a great barrier to a right understanding of the word of God. He who comes, then, in this spirit comes with an impenetrable veil before his eyes; he is as a blind man with his face toward the midday sun. No matter how much light there may be, it is hid from him. Revelation's demand upon him is one at which his soul at once rebels. He finds, first of all, that the fundamental law of the spiritual kingdom is, "He that exalteth himself shall be abased, but he that humbleth himself shall be exalted;" that "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." The demand upon his intellect and understanding, upon his whole spirit and life, is one that abases self but exalts God; one that gives God all honor, all praise; to man none. It lays man in the dust, it puts God on the throne. It presents the door to the kingdom of heaven as so small that none but a little child can enter therein, and assures man that he must become as a little child or he cannot enter. It shows the seeming paradox—so difficult of conception to men—that man must go down before he can go up; that greatness comes only through littleness; and that he must be stripped of all before he can have any thing. Is it any wonder that pride—the pride natural to every human heart—halts at these demands and finds it hard to see God in them? Is it wonderful that this divine idea is so hard to be received? that this "offense of the cross" is "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense" to many souls? Remembering how large is the inheritance of every human heart and soul in this dower of pride, we may in some measure abate our wonder that the Jews did not see in the lonely man of Nazareth their Redeemer and Deliverer; that he was of them despised and rejected. The probation to find in such a one their Messias, their life, was so severe that they, in their pride, failed to endure it. But He who was their probation in the flesh is ours on the pages of the holy Scriptures. Happy for us if pride do not so blind us, also, that He who is now, as then, the Life, be hidden from our sight.

3. The third hinderance to a right interpretation of the Scriptures is, human selfishness. To some souls this difficulty is greater, perhaps, than either of those mentioned; they can

silence the clamors of reason and the protests of pride easier than the demands of selfishness. He who comes to the Scriptures to learn there the way to life finds at once this insisted on, positively, imperatively: that he shall deny self. That element of his nature, inherent in his spirit and in his flesh, he finds demanding many things which the Scriptures refuse. They insist that these must be sacrificed, surrendered, in order to obtain life. He must make his choice of the two; it is impossible to have both. But man wants both; he does not want to yield either. On the one hand, he sees objects of time and sense which minister much to his gratification, in the possession and enjoyment of which, as it appears to him, the good, the happiness, of life largely depends. His vision has not yet become clear enough to perceive—as that of so many has not—that there may be greater happiness in the pursuit of life than in all these objects which seem to him of so great consequence. On the other hand, he sees the boon of life, with all its infinite, and as yet largely unrevealed, good. The terms, the only terms, on which the latter is to be gained are the denial, the surrender, of the former. There appears no other way to honestly interpret the divine requirements. At many a point in the road to life he finds that he must pass over the prostrate form of clamoring, protesting self; along that way only must he walk, or he cannot walk with God. But self cries: "Is there indeed no other way?" Here appears another element of trial, of probation, in dealing with the word of God. The history of the race, all human experience, shows that it is an ordeal which searches as by fire. The trial is not simply that self clamors for indulgence, protests loudly against denial, but also that it assumes the *role* of advocate in its own behalf, and pleads its case with wondrous but always perilous ingenuity. It seeks to show, and with how great success we need not state, that the thing it wants is right; is not forbidden of God and not hurtful to man. With marvelous subtlety and skill it brings to its aid such specious reasoning, such attractive plea, that the soul is blinded, puzzled, deceived. Self looks at the word of God through the entrancing medium of its own desires, and interprets God in harmony with them. The thing it wants it argues to be right and good. True, God says, "Nay, it is not right and good." But self

reasons in the ear of conscience, "You do not hear God aright." And many do not hear God aright; and why? Not because the word of God is unintelligible or doubtful, but self in them does not want to hear it; nay, often will not. Self shuts its eyes, and affirms there is no light; it closes its ears, and declares there is no voice. But there is light, nevertheless, and there is a voice. The one is visible enough, the other audible enough, to one who is willing to hear.

On this element of probation we need not enlarge, nor array in support of it many proofs. The first chapter of its history was opened in the garden of Eden, and ever since the race has been furnishing more in abundance. They can be found in all times and places. Always, every-where, men have made good evil and evil good, truth error and error truth, not because they could not have known them, but because they did not desire to know. They willed to have them otherwise than as they were, and to them will became God, truth, duty. Into this horrible delusion, we cannot doubt, self has argued, still argues, multitudes of souls. To thrust self into the background, and turn to it a deaf ear while inquiring the way to life, is a probation which they do not abide.

In conclusion, we may be permitted a word to our brethren of the sacred profession. If what we have said be true, the office and duty of the Christian ministry will be at once apparent. Ministers stand before the people as interpreters of God in things pertaining to eternal life. Their business here is to find the thought of God, and announce that, and that only, to men. While, on the one hand, they are not to close their ears to the voices of reason, of worldly wisdom and philosophy, and so become simply credulous or superstitious, on the other they are to take heed that they listen not too much to calls from these quarters. They need to be guarded lest they mistake their own thought for that of God, their own preference, their own wish, for the will of God. That such is the tendency in some of the pulpits of to-day we regard as quite too evident. There are men about us, assuming to be oracles of God, who have wandered so far off into the mists of speculation and the fogs of worldly wisdom that they have almost lost sight of the God whose voice we have been wont to hear, and whose form to behold, in his revealed word. Those

old paths of faith in which the fathers trod have evidently become quite indistinct to their sight, and in some cases are entirely lost. But the Christian minister should walk before men as a man of lofty, even of daring faith. In proportion as it is evident that he gives place to doubts and questions and negations will he be shorn of his power, and unfitted to be a leader of men in the way to life. He must sometimes cry in the presence of truths that stagger reason and daze philosophy, "I believe, and for this reason I speak; though I may not explain or comprehend, nevertheless I believe." He must let it be seen that a life of faith is to him an adequate, satisfying substitute for a life of knowledge. Such it is to many, and such it may be, ought to be, to all. He who fails at this point will be but a blind leader of the blind, and both leader and follower must fall into the pit. A ministry of faith is a ministry of power, and no other is or can be. The leaders of the militant Church must have their eyes unfalteringly fixed on the invisible, or they will never lead to victory. And if, in addition to this, the minister be, like his Master, a man of lowly spirit, walking before God and men in humility of soul, great in his littleness, strong in his weakness, wise in his simplicity—if he show that he is in the kingdom of God as a little child—then will he have another element of that subtle indefinable thing which the Scriptures call power.

And if he join with these two the third quality, a constant, hearty, loving abnegation of self, showing beyond doubt that he seeks the honor, the exaltation of God, the profit and saving of men, and that in the getting of these he gets what he most craves, then will he have gathered into his life the three great elements of true mightiness in which to walk as a prince among men, and prevail. The age calls loudly—as every age has called—for men of faith, humility, self-denial. They whose tracks shine brightest along the path of the Church in all her past have been men of this class, and her most illustrious servants to-day are they in whom these virtues are most radiant. Such preachers are known and honored of men, known also and honored of God. The roots of their power draw nourishment from the soil of both worlds; their leaf cannot wither and their fruit cannot fail.

GEORGE S. CHADBOURNE.

Art. IV.—SOME WORDS ABOUT TENNYSON.

> He, as I guess,
> Had gazed on nature's naked loveliness
> Actæon-like, and now he fled astray
> With feeble steps o'er the world's wilderness;
> And his own thoughts, along that rugged way,
> Pursued like raging hounds their father and their prey.

Of Byron these words of Shelley suggest a truth, themselves untrue. For, though Byron never saw nature or life without distortion, his own shadow thrusting itself so persistently between his eyes and all he saw, still he beheld more of both than any of his contemporaries, and was undisturbed by any intervening shadow save his own. In fact, it is not given either to poet or to prophet to discover nature in her nakedness. Genius *is* nature; nature in her mightiest mood. It is the light, sometimes the lightning, which discloses and bathes in color the sky and the faces of men and children, the sea with its multitudinous billows, and human history with its surge and sweep, its calm and storm. And because genius is such outbreak of nature in her instants of supreme splendor, nature is revealed not *to* but *in* and *through* the blaze of prophetic mind and the vibrating glory of the poet's soul. Byron, Wordsworth, Shelley, Browning, Tennyson, Carlyle, Ruskin—to speak of English writers only—are as much the outcome of the eternal energy, "of the one God, one law, one element" by which "the whole creation moves," as the "mountains" that "look on Marathon," or "the sea that bares her bosom to the moon;" as the skylark,

> pouring its full heart
> In profuse strains of unpremeditated art,

or "the bright white shaft, God's messenger that plunged and replunged his weapon at a venture through the close wood screen, and the thunder breaking like a whole sea overhead;" as "the amber morn forth gushing from beneath a low-hung cloud," or "the two immensities" that center to and from a single point, or "the strength and glory of God's mountains with their waving and radiant pinnacles and surging sweep of

measureless distance, kingdoms in their valleys and climates upon their crests."

The sky would be empty to us without the light, and the radiant sunbeams powerless without the seeing brain and answering mind; so what we call nature would be an undiscovered grandeur, and what we call life and history a dull confusion of distorted reminiscence, a bewildering maze of struggling shadows, did not the seer stand among us to teach us how to use both eye and brain, did not the poet enter for us the throng of struggling shadows, giving, as he goes, to airy nothings a substance and a name.

For this reason much of the chatter about poets, which is rife in our time, is thoroughly absurd; absurd as a complaint against the Alps would be because their flanks are loaded down with snow instead of flowers. We do not rail at the lightning because it is not sunshine, or at the sea because it is not strewn with islands for us to span with bridges; we do not say of the clouds that gather about the sun that they discolor the light, or refuse to listen to the nightingale because her song is so much sadder than the "melodious madness and gladness" of the lark. And yet we do rail at the poet because his vision is according to the soul appointed him; because his song is the outflow of his innate and inalienable being. But if the chatter about poets is absurd, what shall we say of much of the criticism? of the babbling spirit, masked as candor, but steeped in arrogance and impotence, which forever seeks to work its ugly spells of disenchantment? Well! Let us "look and pass on," returning to the suggestion of Shelley from which we started. There are poets that are torn by their own thoughts; such is the interaction of their souls with the life and energy which surround them. Dante and Angelo, Heine and Musset, Byron, Carlyle, and Ruskin are of the number. There are other poets that are transfigured by their own thoughts; the energy about them appearing within them as light and peace and music. Such poets are Shakespeare and Wordsworth and Emerson. Then there are poets, like Goethe and Hugo and Browning, that are torn by their own thoughts, but are not the prey of them. In the midst of life, and vibrating to every movement of it, they are also above life, and, if not serenely, yet strongly, superior to its whirl and dust and outcry. But Tennyson is not to be

placed in any of these three groups. For, though torn by his thoughts, he has also been transfigured by them; though not superior to the storm and stress of life, he has been beautiful beneath them; out of the darkness and the doubt, the struggle, the temptation, and the sin, his prayers have cleft their weary way to God; his songs have borne their witness to the eternal but invisible Love.

Looking at his later portraits one sees that the large gray eyes are sunken beneath the furrowed brow; one fancies that the tall and sturdy frame is bent beneath the unseen burden. The fiery strength of the rugged features is masked beneath a sort of haggard patience; sorrow and doubt, the longing to know, the sense of hopeless ignorance, all quiver in those eager lips; enforced submission to a life "I would but cannot understand" is written on every feature of the aged face.

For Tennyson is nearly fourscore years; the voice so sweet and plaintive in its beginning, so rich and deep and thrilling in its perfect fullness, is broken and hoarse and shrill, though strong and passionate even in its wreck. But as we judge the young with kindly expectation we ought to crown the old with gracious reminiscence. The barge is waiting that bears him forever from our sight.

> He has lived his life, and that which he has done
> Must God within himself make pure!

Of the poet's life we know but little. Not a few stories float around which tend to dim, or, to use a word of his own coining, to undazzle, his personality. Some of these are true; some, only well invented; some, the outcome of imaginative malice. Perhaps the picture of him given by Mrs. Ritchie, Thackeray's genial daughter, is the best of all we have. The few glimpses we get of him in the memoirs of Caroline Fox are also very charming. Talking to her or to Mrs. Carlyle he is the Tennyson that wrote "The Princess," and told the story of Arthur and Guinevere; the poet reverent of noble women, brave and self-restrained, vibrating in every fiber when the deeper chords of life are touched, tempted to madness by his swift-gathering passions, struggling for chastity, and truth, and God.

But the limits of this paper forbid any thing but incidental reference to the details of a career not by any means so destitute

of trial, of adventure, of persistent battling with adverse elements, as current comment indicates.

Tennyson is as serious as Wordsworth—I should have said almost as lacking in every sort of humor. How unlike to Burns, who could write of "Mary in Heaven," or of "Tam O'Shanter" and the cutty sark that chased his mare across the stream; who could portray with equal power the "Cotter's Saturday Night," or "Holy Willie's Prayer!" Even Cowper could write "John Gilpin," and Browning the "Pied Piper of Hamelyn." But Tennyson is full of tears and seriousness; of thought and purpose; of sadness and terrors; the laughter dies away when he begins to sing. The "Northern Farmer" stands almost alone as evidence of a source of humor rich and wonderful, but only once or twice resorted to. The material world in which Tennyson passed his early days was a real but a somber one. His human companions were mostly denizens of ideal realms. So that humor which gleams and flashes and frolics chiefly about real men and women had little chance for revelation until his later years. Men, to Tennyson in his youth, unless they belonged to exceptional types, were not as interesting as trees or clouds. A billow breaking on the strand had more of meaning for him than a common human life. For clouds and waves he had the seeing eye; for human life and its deep significance he had no natural sympathy.

The same clew guides us to the explanation of his failure in the drama. His dramatic power in "Lucretius," in "St. Simeon Stylites," in the "Idyls of the King," in parts of "Enoch Arden," is strong and searching. But it is the dramatic power of the monologue writer; of one who becomes a character rather than of one whose mind gives birth to groups of them. At the bottom of Shakespeare's imagination lay an intense interest in the human cluster; in the interaction and intertangle of life and life. To Shakespeare the men that trod the stage were players, not actors; the stage was to him a mimic world. As a tragic poet he aimed at the impossible and hit. For by speech and mask, by rhythm and music, he could present a double world, the inner and the outer. To do this he first became so familiar with the clusters of human life and the laws of their formation that he knew the culminating moments of destiny, the moments in which the forces of eter-

nity come together in a single deed; he knew, too, how to reveal that deed as mental and spiritual product, and at the same time as the outcome of invisible and infinite energies working through all the avenues of nature and conscious being.

It is this which makes the drama the noblest, the ultimate, form of creative intelligence; for to create the perfect image of a group of living souls, in the culminating crises of their being, is to share the secrets of eternal law, and to wield the sustaining and smiting energies of fate.

Now I repeat, Tennyson had no inborn sympathy for human life such as he had, for instance, with the ever-throbbing sea or the forward-spinning planets. Responsive as he was to every, even the subtlest, movement of the light or air; exquisitely sensitive to the beauty of human face or mind; framed and attuned for love and friendship—he was, for all that, destitute of interest in the intertanglement of life, until the involvement of his own with other souls forced him by sharp suffering to understand its meaning. It was not the dramatic instinct that urged him on to the study of life; it was the experience of life which urged him to the study of its form in other souls, and the increasing interest in life which led him at last to attempt dramatic grouping. But in "Harold" and "Queen Mary" this grouping is a failure. King and queen are not the centers of groups that break to shreds with their undoing; and there is no stuff for tragedy in the break-up of an isolated soul. When the dagger lets out Duncan's life, "the deep damnation of his taking off" shakes to ruin every life about him; in "Hamlet," the ghostly voice that clamors for revenge blights and blasts the innocent and guilty; so in "Electra," so in "Œdipus."

A sure instinct of the measure of his powers guided the laureate in choosing the form in which to cast the "Idyls of the King." For here was tragedy. The crime of Guinevere and Lancelot works havoc far and wide; thwarting the king, perplexing love, weaving every-where a poisonous atmosphere of sin and death and sorrow. But, like the story of "The Ring and the Book," it makes a drama at once too vast and too subtle for any stage. It is not *schauspiel*, as the Germans say; it is not tragedy to be seen with the senses; it is tragedy to be seen by the soul.

But if Tennyson is scant of humor, and deficient in his

grasp of character in groups, he is easily chief of those who in our time have married imperishable thought to verse immortal. Mr. Swinburne has produced a great variety of musical phrases. But his appeal is to the ear, and not to the mind; he stirs the currents of emotion; his thought, a film afloat upon their surface. Tennyson creates a music in his lines which sustains as well as opens up the listening mind. I remember contending, some years ago, in speaking of Mr. Browning, that beautiful truth had a singing quality of its own, which to an apprehending spirit brings compensation for the absence of melodious speech. But no one could contend, except in mad unreason, that Browning's *style* either opens or exhilarates the mind. On the contrary, music and clearness of expression are often sacrificed in the onward rush of matted and intertwisted thought. Now the poet ought to create in his verse a sensuous medium which helps us to apprehend the movements of his mind. The subtler those movements, the greater the need of such a medium. How wonderful is the light! how tremendous its power! how amazing its velocity! Well, light is a rhythmic undulation; its rhythm lost, the heavens and earth would fade away. So it is with the energy of intellect that streams upon our sight; a certain music must keep the eye alive, and help the brain to perfect vision. Now in Tennyson this mastery of expression has been carried to such perfection that exactly where the strain upon our minds is greatest, there the music of his verse becomes sustaining power.

Take these lines from the "Ode to Wellington:"

> For though the giant ages heave the hill
> And break the shore, and evermore
> Make and break, and work their will;
> Though world on world in myriad myriads roll
> Round us, each with different powers,
> And other forms of life than ours,
> What know we greater than the soul?
> On God and God-like men we build our trust!

Who is not borne upward by the music of those lines, until the smiting of God's splendor blinds his gaze? Or take these from "Locksley Hall:"

> Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range,
> Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.

Through the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day:
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

Mother-Age, (for mine I knew not,) help me as when life begun:
Rift the hills, and roll the waters, flash the lightnings, weigh the sun.

The very swing of the planets is in such verse!
Or take these from "Lucretius:"

> Let her that is the womb and tomb of all—
> Great Nature—take, and forcing far apart
> Those blind beginnings that have made me man,
> Dash them anew together at her will
> Through all her cycles—into man once more,
> Or beast, or bird, or fish, or opulent flower:
> But till this cosmic order every-where,
> Shattered into one earthquake in one day,
> Cracks all to pieces . . . my work shall stand.

The student of Democritus and Lucretius thrills to this tremendous condensation of their thought; yet so wonderful is the poet's skill that these lines convey a perfect picture of the cosmic wreck to those ignorant alike of Greek sage and Roman interpreter. One more instance must suffice. I take it because it so thoroughly refutes Mr. Lowell's rather captious saying that the trick of Tennyson's style is easily caught:

> Sometimes on lonely mountain-meres
> I find a magic bark;
> I leap on board; no helmsman steers:
> I float till all is dark.
> A gentle sound, an awful light!
> Three angels bear the Holy Grail;
> With folded feet, in stoles of white,
> On sleeping wings they sail.
>
> Ah, blessed vision! blood of God!
> My spirit beats her mortal bars,
> As down dark tides the glory slides,
> And, star-like, mingles with the stars.

Yes, it seems easy to catch, as sunbeams to a child. It no more defies analysis than the light defies a prism. But then, dear critic friends, do you really fancy that, because you can break the radiance into undulations, you have caught the power to fill the sky with stars?

I have dwelt so much upon Tennyson's skill of expression, of verbal representation, because of the fashion, quite too common, of speaking lightly of such mastery. "Art," says George Sand, "is, after all, nothing but representation." Emerson and Browning in poetry, Carlyle in prose, had much to represent; let us accept their riches, and be thankful. But the power to represent is in them unequal to the material glowing in their minds. Diamonds are diamonds the world over; but to despise the cutter and the setter of them is to deprive us of their splendor.

Poetry is something nobler than the luxury of self-expression; it is a rapture of self-communication in hours of mental ecstasy. There is in it the divine longing to pour itself upon the great and small, the evil and the good. Thought that shocks and dazes and bewilders repels the mind, or rather is resisted by it, as lightning is resisted by the human body even to its ruin; whereas the same thought, dissolved in music and in sunshine, enters the mind to be a quickening life.

Hence the value of the old test: how many quotable lines does a poem contain? For the quotable line is the thought that keeps singing itself in the memory. The thrill of its first appearance sets up perpetual vibration. There are lines in Dante, in Shakespeare, in Milton, in Goethe, in Wordsworth, in Tennyson, in Job and David and John, that, uttered once, were uttered forever. They quicken alike the highest intelligence and the souls of little children. We seem to have known them always, like the sky and the stars, the trees and the light. Deep answers deep. Immortal soul within us leaps to hear immortal truth without us. Living, we renew our strength by listening to their music. Dying, we fling them in the face of pain and death, and, vanquished, triumph by their talismanic power. It was no slight thing to say of Jesus Christ, he is the Word of God.

Of course, it is easy to say that Tennyson's genius is essentially lyrical; that the songs scattered through "The Princess" and the "Idyls," or breaking like fountains through the turbulence of "Maud," are the highest reaches of his power. Certainly they leave us unsatisfied with silence; we would gladly have them, like the "Brook," go on forever. And yet here was a nature too deep to spend itself in singing merely;

too painfully sensitive to sorrow; too powerfully reflective as well as responsive not to come at last to an interest in man and in every form of human movement, intense and conscious as his interest in cloud or tree, or breaking wave of light or foam. Dora, Œnone, Godiva, Elaine, St. Simeon, Ulysses, Lucretius, Lancelot, Arthur, Enoch Arden, are widely sundered types, but each is pictured with sure, strong hand. Yet the range of character is a narrow one. To say of Tennyson that he is insular is to fling at him our favorite epithet. But there is something ludicrous in the American, the most insular of civilized beings, transfixing Englishmen with such disdain. One can stand on Dover cliffs and see the shores of the continent; but we live upon a vast island sundered by vaster oceans from our European and Aryan fatherlands. England, stolid as she is, thrills to every surge of European thought and passion that beats upon her rock-ribbed institutions. We, in our arrogance and conceit of superiority, have lived almost unconscious of the other-world movements of a hundred years—absorbed in ourselves, full of the sense of power and a splendid destiny, until, awakened rudely, we look about us to behold the modern world grown to be one world, and America half-transformed by imported influences that threaten her existence. If Tennyson has for the most part stayed at home; if, excepting a few figures of unusual power, England has sufficed him for his characters, the explanation lies not so much in the narrowness of his sympathies as in his self-restraint, his fidelity to experience, his refusal to attempt the delineation of a life or an epoch with which he had no actual contact.

In Mr. Browning there is a comprehensiveness of love, an insight into varying forms of human effort and human struggle, which makes him a world-poet rather than an English bard. Little Pippa, winding silk and singing herself into the crises of all the lives of Lucca; Pompilia, stirring by her saintly beauty an idle priest to utter nobleness, and kindling the soul of an octogenarian pope to ecstasies of righteousness and joy; Abt Vogler, rapt in thoughts that turn to music and in music that returns to thought; the old grammarian with soul all barnacled with forms of speech, and yet the nobler for his honest search; Karshish, with eyes bewildered at the possible inbreak of God into his ruined world; David, his harp slipping from

his awe-struck hand, all sense of rhythm and of music leaving him as the mighty vision breaks upon and from him; John, dying in the desert; Pictor Ignotus, pulled downward by his sense of things that are, and upward by his dreams of things to come; the Friar cursing the foam from off his hate; the Angel imprisoned in the cells of human form—but why try to name the throng of wondrous faces? Here is a mind poured out upon all climes, all epochs, all phases of mankind. Only this breadth of vision has been purchased at a great price. Mr. Browning has ceased to be an Englishman. One listens in vain for any utterance of his like the outburst of Tennyson in "The Third of February, 1852:"

> As long as we remain, we must speak free,
> Though all the storm of Europe on us break;
> No little German state are we,
> But the one voice in Europe; we *must* speak;
> That if to-night our greatness were struck dead
> There might be left some record of the things we said.

Yet Tennyson has never clothed himself in that cheap but dazzling patriotism which exaggerates the passion of the hour. Actual and visible England has never satisfied him. Now that fools are chiding the aged seer for his tones of warning, one is bound to remind the thoughtful that minor chords and dissonances run through all his work. Goethe, with his "Faust," Byron, with his many-imaged self, poisoned the mind of Europe. Carlyle renewed the necromancy; flung the fragments of an earlier world into his wizard's caldron, and summoned shapes of power that bear the names, but never contained the souls, of mortal men. Natures like Tennyson and Ruskin came beneath the spell and never shook it off. Carlyle's predominant protest against the dominant tendencies in modern England has been echoed and re-echoed in much of Tennyson's later work; though it is perhaps more accurate to say that this revulsion from their human environment was common to both men, and held them to each other. In "Godiva" and "In Memoriam," especially in "Maud" we had quite early revelations of a mood to which the present brings continual fret and discord:

> Not only we, the latest seed of time,
> New men, that in the flying of a wheel
> Cry down the past; not only we, that prate

Of rights and wrongs, have loved the people well,
And loathed to see them overtaxed.

In this scornful opening of "Godiva" lurks the same spirit which brought up Abbot Samson from the dead.

He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
He would not make his judgment blind,
He faced the specters of the mind
And laid them: thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;
And power was with him in the night,
Which makes the darkness and the light,
And dwells not in the light alone,

But in the darkness and the cloud;
As over Sinai's peaks of old,
While Israel made their gods of gold,
Although the trumpet blew so loud.

Who does not feel the implied rebuke, the withering reproach that gleams through these half-triumphant, half-despairing lines of "In Memoriam?"

In "Maud" the strain is fiercer, and verging to a frenzy of repulsion:

Prophet, curse me the babbling lip,
And curse me the British vermin, the rat:
I know not whether he came in the Hanover ship,
But I know that he lies and listens mute
In an ancient mansion's crannies and holes:
Arsenic, arsenic, sure would do it,
Except that now we poison our babes, poor souls!
It is all used up for that.

That the tone and manner of "Sixty Years After" is in thorough keeping with these earlier lines, let this passage prove:

Plowmen, shepherds, have I found, and more than once, and still could find,
Sons of God, and kings of men in utter nobleness of mind,

Truthful, trustful, looking upward to the practiced hustings' liar;
So the higher wields the lower, while the lower is the higher.

Here and there a cotter's babe is royal born by right divine;
Here and there my lord is lower than his oxen or his swine.

What are men that he should heed us? cried the king of sacred song;
Insects of an hour, that hourly work their brother insect wrong,

While the silent heavens roll, and suns along their fiery way,
All their planets whirling round them, flash a million miles a day.

Only that which made us meant us to be mightier by and by,
Set the spheres of all the boundless heavens within the human eye;

Sent the shadow of Himself, the boundless, thro' the human soul,
Boundless inward in the atom, boundless outward in the whole.

In a word, the underlying mood of Tennyson is set forth in the wild and piercing cry of the soul,

Faltering where he firmly trod,
And falling with his weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope through darkness up to God.

Yes! That is the tragedy of the seer's life! To be haunted with a sense of unseen beauty, with dreams of spiritual grandeur, with the music of love triumphant over ignoble passion, with visions of far-off events where the intercircling purposes of God blaze forth at last in culminating victory over all the hinderances of chaos and of sin; and yet to be a resident alien in the actual world, held to it by the cravings of the clamorous blood, of kinship with it by doubts and ignorance and suffering and sin. Dante, maddened with the men and condition of Italy, betook himself with Virgil to hell and purgatory, and then, drawn upward by the influence of Beatricia's eyes, rested his aching brain in paradise; Milton, when his England broke in helpless recreancy, summoned archangel ruined from the pit, and overarched his blindness with the splendors of creation's dawn. But Carlyle and Tennyson have found their melancholy comfort "in thinking of the days that are no more."

Yet—strange and splendid contradiction!—no bells heard in the nineteenth century have so braced the sinking spirits of the English-speaking world as those which rung responsive to this mighty heart; the bells which every New Year now peal in glorious promise from their dome invisible:

Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.

As Tennyson has held aloof in later years from the dominant tendencies of his time, he has been deemed by some recreant to his earlier principles; by others, destitute of any sympathy for

common mortals. Now, the truth is, that the poet who gives to the common people portraits like Dora and Enoch Arden does far more for them than all the bawling demagogues that thrive upon their folly, or all the cunning partisans that marshal them to self-destruction. For he lifts them into self-respect; he makes them aware of their own intrinsic nobleness; he gives them a place in everlasting story; he endows them with the equality of virtue and of love, with the nobility of duty and intelligence. And when he learns their speech, that they may learn his thought, he becomes of them in the truest sense. The pitiful realist who reproduces in minute detail all the squalor of poverty and sin, all the rottenness of human life amid conditions of disease, propagates the wretchedness he delineates. He smites the poor with fatal contagion; he poisons their atmosphere of thought, and befouls the imagination in which the promise of a better time might be conceived. Not only so, he degrades the people in the eyes of those who should and can help them to their utmost being. Faith in the perfectibility of man is the energy of all progressive social effort. Who keeps that alive within us, he is the priest of the democracy and of the Christ that is to be!

Mr. Gladstone, in a very noble article published many years ago, called Tennyson the poet of woman, and added, with great significance, that thereby he became the greater poet for men. Certainly "The Princess" marks an epoch in English literature—I am inclined to add, in English history. The earlier forms of female loveliness that floated from the mind of Tennyson were like the clouds that swim above the sea when it lies with its bosom bared to moon and stars, its every crested wave astir with intertangled light. But in "The Princess" an ideal world flows round a question of momentous interest. Some one has defined humor to be talking in fun and thinking in earnest. In similar fashion fancy might be defined as talking in dreams and thinking in reality. "The Princess" is pure fancy, but woman's nature, woman's place in life, never was so ablaze with light before. It is an enchanted palace, an enchanted land; yet on the solid earth, where the wrangle and discord of common life is tempered into gladness.

The structure of the poem is too subtle for analysis. The parts merge into each other like the features of a landscape;

they belong together by natural magic, not through logical coherence. What have the songs to do with the story? Yet what would not the story lose without the songs? We are in a world apart, but the world of struggle, of sorrow, of doubt and death is beneath and around us all the while! How exquisite, too, these songs are! how powerful, how utterly beyond all imitation!

But in Vivien, Tennyson has shown us what he might have done in the portraiture of feminine witchery and wickedness had he been so minded. Once, and once only, in the "Idyls" the calm sea is lashed to madness with the storm, its heaped-up passion tumbling before it the long-resistant cliff; once only, though the main theme of the poem tempted to frequent scenes that stir the baser blood. Nay, even in Merlin and Vivien the final lines go shuddering through the nerves and smite the heated senses with a sudden chill.

Now this reverence for women came none too soon to a generation under the spell of Byron and of Goethe. The German poet, it is true, was far subtler in the representation of *das Ewig-weibliche* than his coarser-minded English contemporary. But etherealized sensuality can by no enchantment become spiritual and transforming life. The eternal self-abandonment of Gretchen is at the heart of it immoral, bewildering the conscience and making the intellect the captive and bond-slave of passion.

But Tennyson has shown us woman in full possession of herself; yielding not blindly but wisely; not to the beauty which charms the eye only, but to the courage and nobleness and truth of which the outward beauty ought to be the sign; not thwarting her noblest instincts, but ennobling them by deliberate fulfillment of them; abandoning her loveliness and her strength, not to the impulse of her excited being, but to the law and purpose of eternal love;—or, as in Guinevere, faithless to herself in loving any but the noblest; a center of mischief and of sorrow, blighting every life that touched her shadow because her soul had gone astray; a misery; a malison; a crownless queen, unsceptered by others' knowledge of her fault; a soul all shaken with suspicion and a ceaseless dread; her only virtue, to see her folly at the last; her only hope, not to lose utterly the love of him whose life she wrecked; her

only reminiscence, the havoc that she has wrought to nobler natures than her own.

The stress which the poet lays upon manly courage; his outspoken scorn of sordid aims; his belief in the ennobling influence of strife—all cohere together in the thought of the character which a really noble woman ought to love. There was much protest when "Maud" appeared, because the prophetic eye had discerned that peace has not only victories more renowned but dangers more terrible than those of war. For there is such a thing as decaying above ground. A people may become so sordid, so selfish, so cowardly, that even the prize-fighter rebukes them by his superiority to pain. There is a heroism of daily life far nobler than that of the battle-field; there is a civic courage which saves the commonwealth without the shock of arms; there are invisible banners waving above us, urging us to the conflict with the kingdom of darkness and misrule. But when heroism is swallowed up in greed; when civic courage turns to delirium for a party or a man; when the invisible banners are forgotten, and darkness and misrule run riot in the land—then any call that stirs the remnant of manhood in us may lead us to salvation, when "the blood-red blossom of war flames with a heart of fire." God has shown in human history never any love for cowards. If we would not have war, with its darkening of our households, its tears, its terrors, we must "lose for a little our lust of gold," we must become impatient of the wrongs and shames about us, we must embark in holy adventures with our wealth and courage, our energy must bound with joyful answer to the call of Jesus Christ, and from our many-millioned voice must roll the shout, "Lo, we come! We come to do thy will, O God!"

Enough of the poet's attitude toward woman and men. I would gladly have added a word touching his treatment of childhood, but must pass on to notice his attitude toward nature and life as a whole. Much has been said of his perfect accuracy in the delineation of natural beauty; justly and wisely said. And yet no poet is less *photographic* than he. Wherein lies his secret? Simply in this: that to him nature is always alive.

> The swimming vapor slopes athwart the glen,
> Puts forth an arm and creeps from pine to pine,
> And loiters slowly drawn.

Long lines of cliff *breaking* have left a chasm,
And in the chasm are foam and yellow sand.

The brook that loves
To purl o'er matted cress and ribbed sand.

Far below them roars
The long brook, *falling* through the clov'n ravine
In cataract after cataract, to the sea.

Far off the torrent called me from the cleft;
Far up the solitary morning *smote*
The streaks of virgin snow.

At their feet, the crocus brake like fire.

The league-long roller thundering on the reef.

The moving whisper of huge trees, that branched
And blossomed at the zenith.

And nature's living motion lent
The pulse of hope to discontent,
And from beyond the noon a fire
Is poured upon the hills, and nigher
The skies stoop down in their desire.

One might fill pages with citations to show how life quivers and palpitates in all of Tennyson's reproduction of the outer world. In the beginning this sense of "nature's living motion" brought delight and melancholy; as years and knowledge grew apace, the overpowering vastness and variety of nature filled him with awe, trembling wonder, doubt, uncertainty, and terror. "The Two Voices" give distinct expression to this gathering dread; but "In Memoriam" is the answer of the poet's perfect being to the riddle propounded him by "Death in Life." We shall look in vain in European literature for any such courageous struggle to soar above the "distance and the dark."

Dante, Milton, Goethe, each in his own way dealt with problems of life and providence; Tennyson alone of poets has ventured outward and upward into the mysteries of being until the whole cosmic storm has beaten full upon him.

In one respect the author of "In Memoriam" dwarfs all other thinkers of our time; he foresaw the coming and the going of the "little systems" which others have expounded with such laborious skill. We of a generation ago found in Tennyson all the questions which seemed to involve the break-

up of the existing world of thought. Yet "In Memoriam" was published in 1849; years before Buckle startled his contemporaries with his theories of civilization, almost a decade before the appearance of the "Origin of Species," and at a time when evolution and its great expounder were quite unknown. The perfect self-restraint of the form deceives us; we cannot believe the thought which glows within to be so terrible in energy and intensity; the monotonous music of the measure is in strange antithesis to the whirl and surge of feeling breaking through the lines.

Dante's mind fused into a glow, in the same powerful fashion, all the science and speculation of his time; fused, I say, not grasped. For knowledge floating upon the memory and knowledge glowing in a creative mind are no more alike than iron-filings clinging to a magnet are like the traces of metals consuming in a spectral blaze.

To speak of "In Memoriam" as artificial grief, as sorrow softened into music and thereby converted to a soothing luxury, is the climax of shallow criticism. For the shock of calamity strikes a mighty mind to something else than tears. A spirit large and noble smitten by the wing of death thrills to the universal mystery and woe.

> Never evening wore
> To morning but some heart did break.

That is the theme of Tennyson's lament. Milton's "Lycidas" was the outburst of the puritanic patriot that longed to see the sheep of God safe-folded by shepherds of his own likeness; Shelley's "Adonais" is the voice of Beauty moaning for her slain; but "In Memoriam" throbs with the sorrow of humanity. English in its minuter details, so intricately English that many of its allusions are hidden to the stranger, yet a poem in which all the struggle of the ages after life and knowledge, all the terror of the human mind at its own discoveries, all its despair at the ever-recurring overthrow of human plan and human hope and human structure, all its hungry cry for God, find humbled, chastened, passionate yet reverent expression. It is monotonous as the sea is monotonous, breaking with its eternally unfathomable speech upon the crumbling shore; monotonous as death is monotonous, with the tramp of

its unceasing throngs across the bridge that juts out into the eternal dark. But the slow and solemn movement of the music stirs and sustains the soul in the presence of Infinite Life and Mystery.

The structure of "In Memoriam" is quite as wonderful as that of "The Princess." The latter is an enchanted castle in an enchanted land; this is a vast cathedral, massive and beautiful, the sunlight struggling dim and discolored through its narrow windows, the *Miserere* wailing through its aisles, the dead reposing in its narrow chapels and moldering in the vaults beneath, while the surges of human life and passion are beating upon its walls or breaking in upon its floors. Like such a vast cathedral it must be studied in every part; each detail has a meaning; each helps to form the perfect unity.

We are wont to think that speech is fleeting and that bronze and marble endure. But it is not so! For to-day the Parthenon is a heap of ruins, whereas Achilles still bemoans Patroclus, old Priam still kneels shuddering at the hand that slew his Hector, and craves the mangled body of his son. Homer is mightier than Phidias; speech of immortal mind outlasts the crumbling stone.

Men "shall come and men shall go," and many hearts shall break in bitter sorrow as morning wears to evening in the roll of years; "up through lower lives" shall come the generations of the future, "all experience past consolidate in mind and frame;" "knowledge shall grow from more to more, and mind and soul, according well, shall make one music as before, but vaster;" the golden bells of God ring out at last the darkness of the land, ring in the Christ that is to be, and yet this work shall stand.

Nay, if the inconceivable should come to pass! If, ages hence, the language in which it is written should be forgotten by the tongues of men, and the name of Arthur Hallam fade from out the sky, even then this work shall stand. For not since Dante's wonderful vision has any poem so wrought itself into the mind and fiber of the time. There have been, doubtless, greater poets than Tennyson; that question I do not care to touch. But there have been no poems in our language which have so thrilled the age of which they are a part. Chaucer was the poet of a few even in the puny England of his time; Mil-

ton sang his "Paradise Lost" to a deaf and purblind generation; the greatness of Shakespeare was first disclosed to later ages; Byron broke, over his epoch, a wave of dazzling splendor; but Tennyson speaks even by the lips of those who will not call him master. His spirit preaches in the pulpits of England and America; science, with its "little systems," has halted, awe-struck by the piercing cry! If we are saddened with his sorrow, we are exalted also with his hope; when our eyes are dazzled with strange knowledge, when we have broken our strength upon the walls of utter dark that hide the glory from our sight, when our hearts are sick of human failure and sore with waiting for the coming of the Kingdom, then the golden bells break over us in peals of heartening joy, and the vision floats before us of

> That God, which ever lives and loves,
> One God, one law, one element,
> And one far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves.

CHARLES J. LITTLE.

ART. V.—THE TIME RESTRICTION IN THE METHODIST ITINERANCY.

IN the year 1804 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church enacted a regulation forbidding her bishops, already charged with the duty of fixing the appointments of the preachers, to allow a pastor "to remain in the same station more than two years successively." This was the origin of the "time-limit" as applied to the pastorate in American Methodism. For some years, or since 1792, a rule had been in force limiting the continuous service of a presiding elder on the same district to four years; but the power of the bishop to continue a pastor in a circuit or station indefinitely, and to displace him at his discretion, had remained without restriction. In 1864 the rule of 1804 was amended, and the time named therein was extended to three years, and as thus amended it is still the law of the Church.

In the following discussion, in which I will endeavor to show the significance and effect of this law, I shall consider the time-

limit, first, with respect to its historical relations, and, second, with respect to its utility.

I. What, then, was the demand, the occasion, the reason for the original enactment of this rule of limitation? At this point it is especially needful that the reader of our Church history be on his guard against erroneous assumptions and hasty inferences.

1. No principle developed in the history of Methodism, either in England or in America, and at that time recognized as essential to Methodist economy, can be cited as demanding this new regulation.

It is true that, about twenty years before, Mr. Wesley in his "Deed of Declaration," legally incorporating the Wesleyan Conference and fixing the basis of title to the property held by the Wesleyan Connection, had stipulated that no preacher should be appointed "to the use and enjoyment of any chapel" for more than three years successively, except ordained ministers of the Church of England. But, in seeking to ascertain the influence of this restriction, when regarded as the example of English Methodism, upon the minds of the bishops and preachers assembled in the General Conference of 1804, we should observe:

(1.) The general purpose of the "Deed of Declaration" was to secure the use of the Methodist chapels to such preachers as Mr. Wesley or (after his death) the Conference might from time to time appoint thereto. The issue was first presented in 1782 by the trustees of the "preaching house" at Birstal, who inserted in their deed of settlement a clause providing that after the death of John and Charles Wesley the appointment of preachers to preach in the chapel should be made by the trustees and "such members of the Methodist society as had been class-leaders for three years" in certain villages of the circuit. Wesley was alarmed; and promptly set himself against this demand; but so sharp was the controversy, and so plausible the argument used by the trustees, that his own strong will and clear judgment were severely tested. Indeed, both he and some of his wisest assistants and counselors seem to have yielded for the time being. A few months later, however, we find him writing to a friend as follows:

> I abhor the thought of giving to twenty men the power to place or displace the preacher in their congregations. . . . This must

never be the case, while I live, among the Methodists, and Birstal is a leading case, the first of an avowed violation of our plan. Therefore the point must be carried for the Methodist preachers now or never; and I alone can carry it, which I will, God being my helper ! *

This determination led, two years later, to the execution of the famous Deed of Declaration. Here I ask the reader to observe that the principle at issue, and which that deed was designed to establish, was "that the Conference alone shall have the power of appointing preachers to preach in Methodist chapels." This principle was fundamental, and could not be jeopardized without equal peril to Methodism itself.

(2.) A clause in the deed limiting the period of successive appointments to the same circuit or station was necessary to complete the terms of the guaranty, which the deed must attempt to make absolute. As that instrument secured to the Conference the sole power of appointment, so it must guaranty to all concerned—to the Connection as a whole—a displacement of preachers sufficiently frequent to prevent their practical settlement by any misuse of the appointing power. In other words, it guaranteed the itinerancy. The restriction, however, by which it did this was due, not to the assumption that the Conference would be unable to maintain the itinerancy without it, but to the *possibility* that without it the Conference —the hundred men in whom was vested the power of appointment—might by collusion with the preacher practically effect his settlement.

(3.) This restriction was placed so far beyond the limitations which Mr. Wesley and the Conference had maintained in the exercise of their discretionary power that it was practically inoperative; and in 1804 it had never been regarded as the displacing force in the Wesleyan itinerancy, nor as a regulation without whose displacing effect the itinerancy would be imperiled. Thus far the itinerancy in England, as well as in this country, had been an itinerancy maintained and enforced in the discretionary exercise of the appointing power.

(4.) The exception which the Deed of Declaration made of "ordained ministers of the Church of England" from the three-years' limitation must have greatly modified the influence

* Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii, p. 376.

of the restriction as an example for American Methodism. I do not regard that exception, as many have done, as indicating that Mr. Wesley would not have insisted upon maintaining the itinerancy had his "preachers" been ordained, and by him been regarded as pastors of the flock of Christ. On the contrary, the facts seem to me to show that, had all or most of his preachers been ordained, the occasion for the exception would have disappeared, and ministers of the Church of England among them would have shared the itinerancy on the same conditions as others. From first to last Wesley insisted on the itinerancy. Herein he acted wisely; but when we would estimate the influence of his judgment, as expressed in the time-limit feature of the system which he instituted, upon the fathers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, his broad distinction between preachers and pastors, emphasized as it was by his exception in favor of ordained ministers of the Establishment, is not to be overlooked. Had the time-limit clause in the Deed of Declaration been cited in the General Conference of 1804, as setting forth with the weight of Mr. Wesley's authority an essential provision in the Methodist itinerancy, the force of such citation would have been broken by the vast difference, which it would have suggested to every mind, between Mr. Wesley's *churchless* itinerant evangelism, without a pastorate, and the Methodist Episcopal *Church* of America, with the pastorate provided for, honored, and encouraged.

These observations concerning the origin of the rule of limitation in the Wesleyan itinerancy may serve to show the character of those assumptions upon which are based certain very familiar and specious arguments in defense of the time-limit of our Methodist pastorate. We have no evidence that those arguments were employed on the floor of the General Conference of 1804; and it is hardly supposable that the wise men of that body awoke to discover just then and there that the restrictive clause in Wesley's Deed of Declaration, framed twenty years before, embodied one of the original and fundamental principles of Methodist economy, and that without its application the maintenance of the itinerancy would be impossible. Certainly this could not have been the case with Bishop Coke, who was an active member of that body. No man in the world was more familiar with the origin and purpose of that

deed than he. He knew every word of it, and all the arguments by which it was resisted or defended. He had been Wesley's counselor in the troubles which led to it, and participated in the controversies to which it gave rise; and now, as he recalled those conflicts and disputes, the issue which memory would bring back to him would be, not the need of a time-limit to displace the preachers, but the sole power of the Conference to appoint the preachers to preach in Methodist chapels. The principle which he would recall as vindicated in the outcome would be, that the appointing power was to be trusted as sufficient and worthy to do the work for which it was created.

So, also, in this country. As every careful reader of Methodist history knows, the one almost continuous controversy during the formative period of our Church economy related to modifications of the appointing power, and resulted finally in establishing the principle that the power to appoint the preachers should remain unrestricted in the hands of the bishops. But neither in this controversy nor in any other relating to the fundamental principles of the itinerancy was there any suggestion of the necessity of a constitutional limit to the period of ministerial service in the same circuit or station. The bugbear of Congregationalism as the alternative of a time-limit in the itinerancy was not the argumental device of the fathers in 1804. And if four years later, or at the next General Conference, a motion had been made to rescind the rule of limitation, who could have been found bold enough to incur the ridicule which would have greeted the declaration that to repeal that rule would put the Methodist Episcopal Church on the road to Congregationalism? That declaration is an invention of later times.

2. Nor is there any thing in the history of Methodism, either in England or America, previous to 1804, to indicate that those upon whom the exercise of the appointing power devolved had, in their administration of the itinerancy, discovered the necessity of what is now known as the time-limit. It does not appear that any exigencies arising in the exercise of their power had led them to suggest or desire it.

I am aware of the use which has been made, in some of the many discussions of this vexed question, of a certain letter

from Mr. Wesley to Francis Asbury. In that letter, dated September 30, 1785, Wesley says:

> At the next Conference it will be worth your while to consider deeply whether any preacher should stay in one place three years together. I startle at this. It is a vehement alteration in Methodist discipline. We have no such custom in England, Scotland, or Ireland.
>
> I myself may perhaps have as much variety of matter as many of our preachers. Yet I am well assured, were I to preach three years together in one place, both the people and myself would grow as dead as stones. Indeed, this is quite contrary to the whole economy of Methodism; God has always wrought among us by a constant change of preachers.*

From this it is evident that the "constant change of preachers," which Wesley here regards as required by the economy of Methodism, involved much greater frequency of change than was made necessary by the Deed of Declaration, and that it could be effected only by the discretionary exercise of the appointing power. The "custom in England, Scotland, and Ireland" was not due to that restriction, nor to be protected by it, since the changes there, as elsewhere, must remain practically as much subject to his judgment or that of the Conference as if the restriction did not exist. Indeed, to allow that restriction to become operative would be "quite contrary to the whole economy of Methodism." The "vehement alteration in Methodist discipline" has by some been supposed to refer to some of Mr. Asbury's appointments, which he intended thereby to *vehemently* disapprove. *The Christian Advocate* (1883, pp. 546, 581) cites the cases of Samuel Spraggs, John Dickins, Freeborn Garrettson, and "others," and affirms that "the plain and obvious reason why Wesley wrote those words . . . is that he knew that these things were going on." "They explain," we are told, "Wesley's words, and nothing else will." But the facts do not sustain this strong assertion.† Spraggs, who was *employed by the society* at New York for five years during the Revolutionary War, when the society was not under

*This letter, which was widely published in the Methodist Church papers in 1883 as a relic recovered from a volume out of print, may be found in Emory's *Defense of Our Fathers* (edition 1880), p. 121.

† The reader is here referred to the Conference Minutes, to Wakeley's *Lost Chapters* (xxx, xxxi), and to Stevens's *History Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. i. p. 419.

Asbury's administration, and who was *appointed* there in connection with John Dickins immediately after the war, left the itinerancy and joined the Episcopalians more than two years before Wesley's letter was written. At that time, also, Dickins had completed his second year in New York, and been on the Bertie Circuit about five months. Garrettson had never been more than a year and seven months in one place, and that only once, and at the time of Wesley's writing had been nine months, reckoning from the time of his appointment, a missionary in Nova Scotia. As for the "others," what were they? From the first Conference, in 1773, no preacher had been kept by appointment in the same place "three years together." * In all this time there had been only thirteen appointments for a second year, and some of these were shortened a half year by "change after six months;" and when Wesley was penning his letter there was not, and for several months had not been, a single preacher on a charge for the second year. What then did he see to "startle at?" The occasion of his letter must remain a matter of conjecture. But, whatever it was, his advice must have had reference, not to the enactment of a law forbidding preachers to remain in the same place longer than three years, but to Asbury's discretionary exercise of the appointing power; and by the "next Conference" he must have meant, not the General Conference, which did not then exist, but simply the annual occasion on which his appointments were made. He would have Asbury consider whether *he* would continue "a preacher in one place more than three years together." The advice related solely to his personal administration, and not to the making of rules, and thus emphasizes the very principle which the rule would infringe.

We are aware, also, that it is affirmed that the difficulties encountered in the administration of the itinerancy during the twenty years between the organization of the Church and the General Conference of 1804, had disclosed the necessity of enacting the time-limit as a permanent and fundamental principle of Methodist economy. If such were the case the historical

* Spraggs's case during the Revolutionary War had nothing to do with the administration of the itinerancy, because the society he served was not under that administration.

phenomena are inexplicable. We ought to find some evidence that the enactment was regarded as one of the decisive events in Methodist history, some record of previous discussions concerning it, some foresight of its necessity, some opposition delaying its enactment, and, when it was once effected, some congratulation of the Church on her deliverance from a foreseen peril. We should look also for some prominence to be given to the record of the event, such as has been accorded to other decisive movements in the Church. But we find nothing of the kind. No expression has been found in the writings of Coke, Asbury or Whatcoat expressing their desire for such a rule or suggesting that it would be a desirable feature in our Church economy, and no historian has found material to justify much more than a mere incidental mention of its enactment. Lee mentions it as a "better plan" adopted "to prevent any preacher from wishing or expecting to remain more than two years in one place." Bangs, who wrote fully concerning all important measures, merely mentions without comment the passage of the rule. Stevens uses stronger language, and says, by what authority we know not—certainly not Asbury himself, but probably simply emphasizing Lee's testimony—that "Asbury rejoiced in the new rule as a great relief to the appointing power." Let us concede all that these expressions can imply in the absence of any testimony from the bishops themselves. Is this the treatment that would be accorded to an event which should be recognized as establishing a fundamental principle, without which, it has been said, "the itinerancy would be but a rope of sand?"*

One general fact should be borne in mind. During what may justly be regarded as the formative period of our Church economy, when its essential principles were most severely tested; when the permanency of the itinerancy was still in doubt; when the restriction of the appointing power in the hands of the bishops was fiercely contended for; when the exercise of that power principally by a single man subjected him to suspicion, and often provoked opposition and dissension; when the hardships of the itinerancy were such that few preachers could think of marrying, and an alarming number of them were compelled to locate every year; when the difference

* Dr. Daniel Curry.

between the hardships incident to the extended circuits, especially on the frontier, and the comforts afforded by the few city pastorates strongly tempted some preachers to seek and cling to the latter; when the appointing power strenuously, and, as some thought, tyrannically, insisted on very brief terms of ministerial service—through all this period the itinerancy was successfully administered without the aid of the time-limit.

That Mr. Asbury was annoyed and embarrassed at times by the pressure brought to bear to influence his appointments need not be doubted. He was a man of tender sympathy as well as of clear judgment and strong will, and the circumstances of the work in his day were often such as to put him in a strait between his sympathy and his sense of duty. But those who build their historical defense of the time-limit upon alleged exigencies in Asbury's administration illustrating its necessity should look well to the exact relations of the cases cited. The case of Hammett at Charleston is one of them. Coming from the West Indies, a regular preacher of the Wesleyan Connection, he was employed in Charleston, where he came immediately into favor with the people, who earnestly importuned Asbury for his continuance among them. "None but Mr. Hammett would do for them," he said. Failing to accomplish his purpose through Asbury he withdrew, organized a society of his own, and headed a weak and short-lived secession.* But the history shows beyond dispute that there was nothing whatever in the elements of this case that the time-limit would have cured. Asbury confesses that he was "distressed" by it, but his distress was occasioned, as he himself testifies, by "the uneasiness of our people, who claim a right to *choose their own preachers*, a thing quite new among Methodists."† Alluding to this secession, he says:

> Mr. Hammett had three grand objections to us: 1. The American preachers insulted him; 2. His name was not printed in the Minutes; 3. The *nota bene* cautioning *minute* was directed against him. . . . We are considered by him as seceders from Methodism, because we do not wear gowns and powder, and because we did not pay sufficient respect to Mr. Wesley.

Can the reader discover here any grievance which would have been prevented by a rule declaring that no preacher

* Primitive Methodists. † Journal, vol. ii, p. 110.

should be allowed to stay longer than a specified number of years in the same circuit or station? Can he find any reason to conclude that if such a rule had existed at that time the Hammett secession would not have taken place?

The same with the case of O'Kelly. The point in controversy with him was the right of appeal for every preacher, in the matter of his appointment, from the bishops to the General Conference. For this he contended earnestly, with the zeal of profound conviction and intense feeling, and perhaps with the persistency of a too imperious will. But, defeated, he withdrew from the Church, taking many with him. This was in 1792. Years afterward it was "said" (so Robert Emory puts it in his *History of the Discipline*) that the rule adopted by that Conference, forbidding the bishops to allow an elder to preside in the same district more than four years successively, was introduced in consequence of the "evil results" of O'Kelly's "protracted term" in the southern part of Virginia, where he had "thus acquired a power to injure the Church which otherwise he would not have possessed." This traditional explanation, to make it harmonious with the facts, needs some modification; but let it pass as substantially correct. It serves to show, what the general history of the case also indicates, that the rule was designed as an expedient to meet a particular emergency, which was due to circumstances peculiar to that time, rather than as a provision for all times and all conditions. Certainly, if its enactment was looked upon as the introduction of the time-limit principle into the economy of the Church, it is very strange that the rule did not, during the twelve years that elapsed between that event and 1804, suggest the remedy for the dangers by which, it is affirmed, the itinerancy was imperiled! Strange, indeed, that it did not suggest to Asbury how readily he might obtain that "great relief" for which he was sighing and in which, at length, he so "rejoiced." Could he have been so slow to seek such an application of a principle already incorporated into Methodist economy as would give him the "aid" without which, it is claimed, he "could not," and was himself convinced that he could not, administer the itinerancy?*

* In the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, 1880, page 332, Dr. J. M. Buckley, referring to the O'Kelly case, and the use which he had made in the preceding number of

Let us now examine the circumstances under which the rule was finally enacted. What do they indicate?

As the result of twenty years of successful administration under the most trying conditions, the itinerancy was now more prosperous and more firmly grounded than ever before. That fact ought to count for something.

There is no evidence that any of the bishops, Coke, Asbury, or Whatcoat, all of whom were present and had the same right as other members of the Conference to make motions and participate in discussions, and did so, even suggested the need of the time-limit rule. Their silence is also significant.

In absence of other testimony I turn at once to a letter by the venerable Aaron Hunt, first published in *The Christian Advocate and Journal*, March 6, 1851,* in which, it is claimed, the writer gave "a full account of all the circumstances which led to the enactment of the two-years' rule." † Mr. Hunt says:

> The circumstances which led to the adoption of that rule are not fully known at this day. Soon after the commencement of the present century two or three cases occurred that gave the bishop great annoyance. Some preachers finding themselves in pleasant stations, and by the aid of self-constituted committees—*believing, of course*, that they could do better in the place than any one else—objected to removal, while the more pious part of the society would have preferred a change; but the officious committee prevailed. One of those unhappy cases came under our personal knowledge, when in company with the bishop, which gave the venerable Asbury much anxiety, seeing that to remove the incumbent would rend the society, and to leave him would result in injury to the Church. Finally, they prevailed, and evil followed. In conversation with the bishop we suggested the above rule, to which he pleasantly replied, "So, then, you would restrict the appointing power?" "Nay, sir," was the reply; "we would aid its execution, for, in the present case, it seems to be deficient."

the *Review* of the various difficulties which Asbury encountered in administering the itinerancy, says: "It was clearly shown that Asbury *could not* move the presiding elders without the aid of a time-limit; that as late as 1794 he desired the preachers to change every six months, and that in 1804 the General Conference was compelled to make a rule limiting the time to two years, because Asbury had not been able to withstand the pressure, and had appointed some for three years. If it is a *non sequitur* to conclude from such premises that Asbury *could not* maintain the itinerancy against localizing tendencies, a true sequence in historical reasoning will be difficult to find."

* Signed "Luther."

† Dr. Buckley, in *Methodist Quarterly Review*, 1880, p. 333.

His laconic reply of "So, so!" encouraged me at the ensuing General Conference of 1804 to present the resolution, which was signed and seconded by the Rev. Joseph Totten, of the Philadelphia Conference. When it was read by the secretary one observed that such a rule would limit the episcopacy; another, that it would tacitly station for two years (for at that day preachers were generally removed every year). Of course, it was laid on the table for the present. It was talked over out of doors, and scanned in all its bearings by the fireside, and, when called up again, after some discussion, it passed with a very general vote."

It would be no impeachment of the veracity or candor of this estimable witness if we should find some discrepancy between his recollection, at the age of eighty-one years, and the facts as recorded at the time, which are as follows: 1. In revising the Discipline it was read and considered "chapter by chapter, section by section, and paragraph by paragraph," and all motions for amendments were made at the time of the reading. 2. The Conference required all resolutions to be presented in writing, and passed to the secretary's table, after being *read by the mover.* 3. The time-limit resolution was moved, not by Aaron Hunt, but by George Daugherty. 4. It was not "laid on the table for the present," but was voted on and carried immediately, and was the last of a number of important questions passed upon in a three-hours' session on Saturday forenoon. 5. On Monday morning the question was reverted to in the following order:

Brother Bruce moved for an explanation of the amendment to the second answer of the third question, fourth section, on Brother Daugherty's motion, viz., whether the rule then passed have a retrospective reference to former stations,* or only relates to stations that shall be made in the future.

Brother Taylor moved that the amendment last mentioned be reconsidered. Lost.

Brother Lee moved that the rule go into operation from this Conference. Lost.

Brother Waters moved that the amendment do not operate in respect to the three next northern Conferences. Carried.†

Here the record ends. The reader can compare it with Mr. Hunt's statement.

The *occasion* for this amendment, as stated in the above let-

* In Conferences that had recently held their sessions.

† *Journal of General Conference*, 1804.

ter, was the occurrence, "soon after the present century," of two or three cases that gave the bishop "great annoyance." This suggests another examination of facts. Of the four hundred traveling preachers in connection with the Annual Conferences at that time only twenty-seven had been on their present circuits or stations more than one year. Most of these appointments were large circuits, some of which were on the frontier, while others presented so much of hardship that to be retained on them for a second year could scarcely be considered a mark of episcopal favor or the object of selfish ambition. Of these twenty-seven preachers there were three who had been three years without change of appointments; and by going back to the Conferences whose sessions had recently been held we find two more of this class—five in all, and no more, since "commencement of the present century." Can the two or three cases referred to by Mr. Hunt be found among them? Why had Tobias Gibson been held four years at Natchez? Let his name and the name of the circuit answer: he was kept there because his heroism was adequate to the severe and protracted demand for self-sacrifice in that distant missionary field. No suspicion of self-seeking can ever touch the name of that first pioneer of Methodism in the southern Mississippi valley. The same may be said of William Gassoway, whose conversion from profligacy was characterized by repentance so protracted and so profound as to saturate his whole life with humility; whom Stevens characterizes as a "saint and apostle," and of whom Bishop Capers speaks as "that most godly man and best of ministers." His staying three years on a large and expanding circuit on the extreme southern frontier, in the midst of poverty and with a family on his hands to support, needs no other explanation than his heroism and his adaptation to the field to which he was sent. Hamilton Jefferson was serving a third year on Fairfax Circuit in Virginia. It is said of him that "his talents as a preacher were not of the most brilliant kind;" his circuit was not one of the "pleasant stations" to which Aaron Hunt refers; and, as his Conference affirmed when commemorating his virtues, he was "respectful and submissive to his superiors." Evidently, then, it was not his appointment that "gave the bishop great annoyance." Thomas Morrell had been three years in New York; but that scarred veteran

of the Revolution, himself a military officer, never chafed under the discipline of the itinerancy. Besides, as with Jonathan and David, the soul of Morrell was knit with the soul of Asbury. It could not but be that Morrell was where Asbury wanted him and was ready to leave on command. There is but one case left—that of Cyrus Stebbins, who had been four years at Albany. Concerning him there is room for suspicion. Indeed, papers still extant show that his case is the one which Mr. Hunt mentions as having come under his "personal knowledge." To remove Stebbins, then, in the discretionary exercise of the appointing power would, we are told, "*rend the society.*" But if this were the view which the Conference had of the situation, it is very strange that it exempted the three northern Conferences, in one of which Albany was situated, from operation of the new rule for one year; and it is more strange that Asbury did not wait for the time-limit to do what, it is affirmed, he "*could not*" do, but did remove Stebbins immediately after the General Conference, on his own judgment of what ought to be done, and that, too, without injury to the society. And still the wonder grows, when we observe that, though he removed Stebbins, he took advantage of the year's exemption of the northern Conferences to appoint Billy Hibbard, of the New York Conference, and Aaron Humphrey, of the New England Conference, to their respective circuits for a third year. Manifestly, he continued to the very last to exercise his judgment to the full extent of his liberty in making the appointments.

It is not difficult, however, to believe that there were "two or three cases" that gave the bishop "great annoyance." That of Stebbins was doubtless one of them; that of the popular, discontented Thomas Lyell, who located at the end of his second year in Boston and soon joined the Episcopalians, was, perhaps, another; and among the thousand appointments made in the four years since the century began, the third "unhappy case" could probably be found. But these cases, which, according to Hunt's own testimony, furnished the occasion for the enactment of the new rule, also indicate its nature and purpose. Its whole aspect in the light of the history here traced is, not that of a fundamental principle in Methodist economy, but that of an expedient to meet the exigencies of the times. Such it was,

and such it must have been to pass the General Conference of 1804 on the heels of a sharp debate * which put the defenders of the episcopacy again on guard against every measure that would signify the permanent restriction of the appointing power. As such it served the immediate purpose of its authors, and as such it should be treated, whether assailed or defended, whether approved or condemned, whether preserved or abolished.

II. This brings us to consider the *utility* of the rule under discussion. Here a correct judgment depends on keeping in mind the immediate and express purpose of the time-limit, the service it has rendered, and the advantages sacrificed for the sake of that service. Thus we see, for instance, how irrelevant to this question of utility is the comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of the itinerancy with those of the settled pastorate, since the itinerancy is not the time-limit and was not created by or based upon it. In the same view we perceive how groundless is the assumption of any proven inability of the appointing power to administer the itinerancy without the aid of the time limitation. The real question is the practical difference between an *itinerancy* without a time-limit and an *itinerancy* with it. In Asbury's day this difference was not precisely the same as it is now. It was a practical question for the men of that day to consider with reference to the exigencies of their times. Whether or not on the whole they decided wisely we need not trouble ourselves to ascertain. We may, however, consider the effect of their action.

Here it may be conceded that the fathers builded even better than they knew; that providence led them to enact a rule which, exceeding the wisdom of their purpose, served during the trial period of the itinerancy—when the very principle on which it was based was frequently at issue and prophets of evil were predicting its failure—to strengthen the system and to assert its permanency. That rule did emphasize the itinerancy. It did write the word upon the banner of the young Church. It did declare a settled conviction that the itinerancy was to abide with Methodism. This manifestation of faith and purpose helped to fix its place in the ecclesiasticism of the age, and to hold it firmly until it should become rooted and be able

* On elective presiding eldership.

to stand in the strength of its acknowledged merits. This, beyond the "relief" which it was intended to furnish to the appointing power, was the grand purpose which the fathers of 1804 unconsciously served in the enactment of the limitation. But it entailed some sacrifice. In a careful study of the early administration of the Church I have been impressed with the obvious fact that, with perhaps the exception of Stebbins at Albany, no appointment during the whole of Asbury's administration was made or could have been made with a more intelligent and conscientious regard to the special needs of the work than the few which he made for the third and fourth years to the same stations or circuits. This would naturally be so, because of Asbury's general preference for very short terms, and his determination to keep up "a circulation of the preachers;" but the facts, as I have already intimated, sustain the presumption with almost surprising force. To forbid the making of any more such appointments beyond the limit of two years, as those of Gibson at Natchez, Gassoway on the Santee and Catawba Circuit, Hamilton Jefferson at Fairfax, Aaron Humphrey at Hallowell, Thomas Morrell in New York, Billy Hibbard at Dutchess, Henry Willis * and John McClaskey in Baltimore, was certainly a sacrifice of great possibilities of usefulness which the practical wisdom of Asbury had hitherto advantageously improved. And the sacrifice was not for his time only: it continued to increase with the rapid increase of these possibilities, in connection with the growth of the Church and the extension of the field of its operations. It has to some extent been obviated, especially by that exception which exempts missionaries from the operation of the time-limit; but in the general field of the itinerancy the loss caused by preventing those appointments which exceptional circumstances and needs have indicated as especially desirable has been so great as to call for further modification of the rule or for its repeal. In Asbury's time this loss might not, on the whole, have been so great as not to be easily compensated; but it has gradually increased as the real itinerancy, the traveling evangelism of his

* The obituary of Henry Willis in the Conference Minutes mentions him as supernumerary all the time he was in Baltimore, but the historians seem to have followed the lists of appointments, which show him supernumerary only during his last, or fourth, year.

day, has been displaced by the interchanging pastorate of the present. When the appointments generally were large circuits, and a great majority of the preachers were only occasional visitors to their several congregations, there was comparatively small demand for that wide range of personal qualities and ministerial qualifications which the Methodist pastorate now requires, and hence, in general, there was far less need of the widest liberty in the exercise of the appointing power for the adaptation of men to places than now exists. There was then but little danger of damage by "misfits" or of great loss in any respect in changing preachers every year from circuit to circuit, while there was a probability of some considerable gain through the freshness and effectiveness of their preaching.

If the purpose of this article were to compare the utility of the rule of limitation in Asbury's time with its utility to-day, I should dwell on the great changes that eighty-four years have brought about in the conditions under which the work of the Methodist ministry is to be done; but I must leave this fruitful field to the intelligence of the reader—and to his astonishment also, if for the first time he shall give it more than a cursory examination. We of the present generation should consider the utility of the time-limit in the "itinerancy" as it now is with reference to present conditions and demands.

The following are some of the most important considerations which should influence and determine our judgment at this point:

1. The time-limit is a restriction of the appointing power, and to the extent to which it becomes operative as a substitute for that power in the displacement of pastors it must discredit the principle on which the itinerancy is based. Wherever the power of appointment may be lodged—whether in the hands of the Conference, as in England, or in the hands of the bishops alone, as in the Methodist Episcopal Church, or in the hands of the bishops in conjunction with some coördinate or associate authority—the fundamental theory of the itinerancy is, that the appointments shall be wholly subject to the discretionary exercise of that power. The little discredit brought upon this principle by the rule of limitation when it was seldom operative was recompensed by the needed em-

phasis which it put upon the itinerancy itself; but now, when the itinerancy needs no such emphasis, and when the rule is *often* operative, and that, too, in connection with local pastorates and under circumstances which render both pastors and churches intensely conscious of its existence, the discredit referred to is serious and damaging. Indeed, with the general public, and, we fear, with the great mass of Methodists also, the effect is to fix attention on the *rule* rather than on the *principle*, and to make it stand out as the essential thing in Methodist economy.

2. Another consideration, implied in the foregoing but deserving special mention, is that the rule or limitation excludes the *displacing* of pastors (a most important part of the bishop's work) to a great extent from the scope of that prayerful, intelligent judgment which is supposed to be exercised in the making of the appointments. Will any one say that the displacement of pastors is less important than their appointment to new fields of labor? The question of removing a pastor who has been only one or two years in a place is often the most serious question which the bishop and his advisers are called upon to consider. The pastor may have been successful; he may have won the hearts of his people, and indications may point to still greater prosperity, perhaps to a rich harvest of souls, as the result of his continuance in the same service for another year. But there is a demand for him elsewhere. Shall he be removed? His *removal* is the serious question; his appointment, in the event of his removal, is clearly indicated. He is consulted; his presiding elder is consulted; and they both make the matter a subject of prayer. The bishop is in doubt, and he also seeks divine guidance. And why not? Such deliberation and prayerfulness forcibly and beautifully illustrate the theory of the itinerancy. But suppose that that pastor has reached the end of his third year, with precisely the same demand for his reappointment. Prayer is now useless! And how often are prayer and episcopal judgment thus precluded! Nearly or quite one third of the removals of pastors which take place every year in our itinerancy are effected without prayer, without thought, without judgment, by this arbitrary limitation; and the rule makes it possible that *all* the removals shall be so made! Does not such a rule fearfully dis-

credit a system that professes to be based upon the intelligent exercise of an appointing power?

3. A law limiting the time for which any pastor may be reappointed to the same charge is sure, in the course of a few years, to compel some *inopportune* appointments, such as will occur at times in the midst of revivals or at critical moments in important church enterprises. If such emergencies could be foreseen a year in advance they might sometimes, perhaps, be provided for by anticipating the change of pastors and securing for the approaching exigencies the men who would be best fitted to meet them, and who would not necessarily be removed until the special occasion for their services had passed. But they cannot be foreseen, and, besides, nearly every such emergency grows directly out of the work of the incumbent pastor. Wherever the limit is placed, the inopportune removal will be the occasional result; and in almost every Conference, among the large number of removals made in the course of a few years, there will be many cases of this character. The result in many Conferences, as seen in a review of the history of their several charges, is not always pleasant to contemplate. Lincoln applied the principle of his homely maxim, "Never swap horses while crossing a stream," in the hour of the nation's crisis. It would have been lamentable if he had found himself compelled by the national Constitution to "swap horses" at that very hour. If the maxim is worth any thing, it cannot be wise to start out on a long journey under contract to swap horses at every third milestone whether a stream be there or not.

4. An itinerancy with a brief pastoral term limited by law must, in the nature of the case, compel every pastor to surrender that personal influence which is acquired by intimate acquaintance with his people, despite the fact that it is manifestly necessary to his greatest usefulness. It is true that this element of power is not the only consideration that should determine his fitness for the particular field of labor in which it has been acquired: he may possess it, and still be deficient in other requisite qualifications for the work in hand. But in itself it is of great value, and is always requisite in order that the pastor may be at his best; and no pastor, while thus at his best, should be compelled to surrender it without large and adequate compensation for the loss. Does the arbitrary limitation

always secure such compensation to the *pastor?* To the circuit-rider of former times, who continued for the most part to be a stranger to his people, and often was the more useful because he was such, this consideration was of comparatively small importance. It is the *pastorate* that most fully utilizes acquaintance and personal influence; and this fact suggests, at least, that in carrying the time-limit regulation over from the large circuit to the pastorate we have carried it beyond the sphere of its usefulness. This remark is applicable to the general work of the ministry; but both in the cities and in the little villages, both in the older Conferences and in new fields on the frontier—every-where, in fact, and in all the churches—there is often some special work to be done which nothing but the continuous, wisely directed, and indefinitely protracted efforts of a pastor intimately acquainted with the people can accomplish. In the city the position of leadership must be gained, without which it is impossible to direct the energies of the Church, hold it in its proper relations to the religious and benevolent enterprises of a vigorous Christian community, or sustain it amid the rivalries that call for ceaseless vigilance and wise counsels; and such leadership is sometimes dependent on a knowledge that is slowly acquired. Under these circumstances the frequent arbitrary interruption of pastoral relations prevents the success that would otherwise be possible. In the village some pernicious error may be flourishing under local conditions that must be thoroughly studied and skillfully and patiently dealt with; or some evil social custom may have been fostered by influences that can be successfully resisted only by long and steady pressure, or by the corrective force of right teaching skillfully and personally applied. Here the minister who is adapted to the work in hand, and has gained an advantage by acquaintance with the elements with which he has to deal, is invaluable, and, until his work is done, he cannot be superseded by a stranger without peril to the interests involved. On the frontier, amid the rush of immigration to new towns, the pastor must, so far as his church is concerned, be the agent of union to bring together the old and new elements. His success in the work of gathering in the "new-comers" is often largely dependent upon an intimate acquaintance with resident families, and an acquired command of the social forces of the

place. These illustrations of the variety of special interests which may be jeopardized by a frequent and compulsory change of pastors are sufficient to show that the Church which organizes its pastorate on the basis of such changes, ecclesiastically and arbitrarily predestinated, must expect to sacrifice in some degree a very important element of pastoral power.

5. The zeal and success of every pastor is somewhat dependent upon the hope which he bases on the possibilities connected with his own labors. He naturally desires to build on the foundation which his own hands have laid, and will cheerfully labor on in obscurity and hardship for the promotion of an enterprise committed to his care until success crowns his endeavors. There is, it is true, much of support and encouragement to the Methodist minister in the thought that he sustains a pastoral relation to the Church as a whole. Theoretically, the world is his parish, and this relation is one source of compensation for some of the sacrifices which the itinerancy necessarily involves. It is true, also, that there is no inspiration really worthy of the Methodist ministry but that which leads to a self-absorbing zeal for Christ and his cause; but it is nevertheless beyond dispute that the sublimest heroism, the purest and most exalted devotion, intensifies the consciousness of one's identification with one's own work. This principle suggests a kind of loss which a Church may incur by positively forbidding any of its pastors to remain more than three years in one place.

I do not here intend to intimate that long terms of pastoral service are always, or even frequently, necessary to insure the full measure of the pastor's usefulness in any one place; but sometimes their *possibility* is necessary to this end. Much less would I confidently affirm that it belongs to the mission of Methodism to build up immense congregations whose size and coherence shall be due chiefly to the powerful personality of their respective pastors. *Nor would I confidently assert the contrary*, or affirm that a Beecher, a Parker, a Talmage, and a Spurgeon in our Church would be a force too mighty for Methodism to utilize. If four or five such congregations as theirs should be developed in this country under our system of appointments, with the time-limit abolished, who would be authorized to declare it a misfortune to Methodism or to the evangelical Christianity of our times? Were the Brooklyn

Plymouth Church in Methodism to-day it would soon find a worthy successor of its lamented pastor; and the search for him would be made not in the name of a theology bearing a personal image and superscription, but in the name of a Church whose symbols of faith are the same in all the world. The possibility of a few such churches (and few they would be at most) need not frighten us. Their development under Methodist economy would be extremely improbable and could easily be prevented; but to *decree* in advance that they shall never exist would be to intrench somewhat upon the domain of Providence. Methodism, now in its manhood, fullgrown and strong, can afford to accept any responsibility that may come through the unrestricted application of the principle on which it is based.

6. Experience shows that the rule of limitation often tempts both pastors and people to protract the term of pastoral service under strained relations beyond the period of usefulness. This it did when the limit was two years; it does the same now under the limit of three years; and the same effect is manifest in those Churches which have an itinerancy with the term extended to four and five years. This result under the rule is inevitable, and so manifest is it that many have been led to think that the average pastoral term, with no time-limit, would be shorter than at present. I do not so think, but I can see that the flexibility which the absence of the time-limit would give would permit more of real itinerancy where it is needed, and longer pastorates where they would best serve the Church.

These, as I have said, are some of the considerations which should determine our judgment respecting the present utility of the restriction. Their effect is to condemn the rule, as a hinderance and embarrassment to the itinerancy.

The counter arguments, in favor of the rule, base the claim of utility made in its behalf chiefly upon the general principle, that safety requires that discretionary power shall be limited by the provisions and positive injunctions of law. Obedience to law, it is affirmed, is secured much more easily than obedience to men, since the natural tendency of the governed, under even slight provocation, is to suspect the motives that control the discretionary exercise of power. Upon this principle it is claimed that the *rule* saves both ministers and churches

from a perilous and, sometimes ruinous, strain upon their loyalty.*

The philosophical ground of this argument renders it worthy of consideration. But rejoinder is made as follows: (1.) The loyalty of Methodist ministers is due, not to the fact that the law of the Church forbids any of them to stay more than three years on any circuit or station, but to the intelligence and sincerity with which each has consecrated himself to the ministry under a system which at the outset required of him that his field of labor should be constantly subject to the *will of an appointing power.* His surrender to this demand was the test of his *acceptance* of the itinerancy, and continues to be both the explanation and test of his loyalty. (2.) The loyalty of churches also is due to the preference which their members have for an ecclesiastical system under which they accept pastors at the hands of an appointing power; and an administration which should test their obedience by an occasional removal, in the exercise of episcopal discretion, of a pastor whom they would retain would be more favorable to the preservation of their loyalty than a regulation which enables them to anticipate his removal and select his successor. (3.) Under the present rule two thirds or a larger proportion of the removals of pastors, occurring every year, are effected without the aid of the time-limit, and it is not presumed that there is more loyalty on the part of ministers or churches than there would be if the proportion should be largely increased by extending the time to four or five years. The argument is, that a proportion which may be indefinitely increased without incurring danger may be safely increased until it includes the whole. (4.) Whatever dissatisfaction would be caused by the exercise of discretionary power on the part of the bishops, it is a question whether it would exceed that now caused by the arbitrary time-limit.

But it is claimed—putting the foregoing argument in a more concrete form—that but for the time-limit a popular preacher of great personal power would be able, during an extended pastorate, so to fortify himself in his position that the bishop would be unable to dislodge him without provok-

* See this argument strongly stated by E. Q. Haven, D.D., *Methodist Quarterly Review*, 1878, p. 404.

ing a revolt, even when his removal should be manifestly demanded either for the good of his people or by the greater need of his services elsewhere. To this it is replied: (1.) In the nature of the case — considering the obligations which Methodist ministers assume in their entrance upon the itinerancy, and the importance of loyalty in its bearing upon the standing of both ministers and churches—the instances of such disobedience would be very rare; perhaps rarer and less troublesome than those of disobedience and revolt under the present law. (2.) The possible defections caused by such exercise of authority are to be considered only in comparison with those caused by the friction of our present method.

There are many minor arguments, *pro* and *con*, bearing on the question of the probable effect of rescinding the rule of limitation, but as they are subordinate, and can have no determining force in this discussion, they are not here produced.

From the premises here presented I am led to these conclusions:

1. The time-limit in our itinerancy has neither historical nor philosophic ground for a claim to be regarded an essential part of Methodist economy.

2. Great as the utility of the itinerancy continues to be, there is now none in the time-limit itself.

3. Though it would not be wise to force the repeal of the rule in opposition to the sentiment of the Church, yet the sooner the Church shall demand its repeal the sooner will she be able to utilize to the best advantages the forces at her command.

O. H. Warren.

Art. VI.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH.

Has the Methodist Episcopal Church a mission in the South beyond her work among the colored people? After more than twenty years of occupancy and enlargement in this field, many of our own people in the North are inquiring whether there is really any call for the prosecution of our work among the white population of the Southern States. Our own people in the South have no doubts about the "call;" but those of the Southern Methodist Church believe there is no mission for our Church here. This is a very grave question, and one upon which many good men differ. Many of our people, through lack of knowledge of the situation, have failed to appreciate our past success and present opportunities, and have been somewhat too easily led to believe that, for any thing more than to help the colored people, the Methodist Episcopal Church has accomplished nothing that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, would not have done in her absence. For all who believe that our Church is called to be in the South there will be many perplexing questions to solve as to what the work is and how it shall be done. It is the purpose of this paper to present some facts and arguments showing the correctness of that belief, and how it has happened that there has not been a better understanding in the North about this work, upon which has been expended over three million dollars in twenty years.

Upon the threshold of every door we enter here this question meets us: "How will your work affect the fraternity that is being cultivated between the North and South?" It would seem, on its face, that any thing that hastens the era of good-will between the two great sections of our land must be good, and that any thing which postpones that day should not be encouraged. And this is the ground upon which we have been urged to give up the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern field. This peace argument has been greatly re-enforced from the consideration of great commercial interests to be promoted by fraternity. But shall we seek for the earliest peace, and obtain it at any cost? Nay, let us, rather, seek for a peace that will endure.

It is worth careful inquiry to ascertain if, peradventure, we may not have been running too fast after fraternity. The radical difference of the two Methodist Churches upon very grave questions would have made some friction inevitable in the working of "formal fraternity," even though the machinery had been well constructed, which it was not. There was lack of perfect and full understanding *ab initio ad finem.* The late editor of this *Review** gave some points along the line of "construction" in 1886:

At the General Conference of 1872, held in Brooklyn, the subject of our relations with the Southern Church was brought into notice by "sundry petitions, memorials, and resolutions," all of which were referred to the Committee on the State of the Church, which body, in due time, reported in substance, and their report was adopted, that the Methodist Episcopal Church having entered the parts of the country in which the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has most of its members and churches, and, having there received many members, and established numerous local churches, and all proper ecclesiastical institutions, it is neither at liberty nor disposed to abandon that part of its work; but, because it is deemed very desirable that the two Methodisms should co-exist in harmony, and in order that their good fellowship should be the more clearly indicated, it was declared that,

To place ourselves in the truly fraternal relations toward our Southern brethren which the sentiments of our people demand, and to prepare the way for the opening of formal fraternity with them, be it hereby

Resolved, That this General Conference will appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to convey our fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its next ensuing session.

In the debates on this occasion the action of the General Conference of 1848 was justified, and every possible modification of it definitely refused, and also distinct notice was given that there existed no purpose on our part of abandoning our work in the Southern States.

The delegation so provided for accordingly appeared at the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1874, at Louisville; but somehow their credentials were so far defective that they contained nothing of the declaration of our purpose to continue in the South, which had been made as a condition preliminary to the action providing for a fraternal delegation. The omission was unfortunate, as it might seem to imply a willingness on the part of somebody to ignore the attitude of those who had ordered the delegation toward those to whom they were accredited; and the omission and its apparent intention were noticed and commented upon by one of the Southern delegates, since chosen and ordained a bishop. . . . All the wooing and

* Vol. lxviii, p. 765.

coquetting has been made from the Northern side, but not by any properly official action, although certain of our "officials" have occasionally become a little superserviceable on that line.

In these attempted negotiations the South appears usually to have had the better side of the game, the reasons for which are quite obvious, and they are such as to cast no discredit upon the winning party. They evidently see, what some among us appear unwilling to recognize, that there are such considerable and deep-seated differences between the two bodies, in their substance and spirit, that their incorporation into a single organization would result only in discord and confusion.

The arrangement for formal fraternity made by the "Joint Commission" in 1876 was such that the Southern Church understood it as a note of preparation for the ultimate withdrawal of the Methodist Episcopal Church from the South. In the Nashville *Christian Advocate* (1876) Dr. T. O. Summers said, editorially:

> It was the understanding of our commissioners (and we are sorry they did not so express it in the agreement) that their action would ultimately restore the line of division established in 1844.

The *Central Methodist*, an organ of the Southern Church published at Catlettsburg, Ky., said, in 1877:

> If fraternity is worth any thing it will result in one of three things: First, an organic union of the two Churches; second, an ecumenical Methodism with four or more subdivisions, each holding General Conference in its respective territory, and all under jurisdiction of an ecumenical council; third, a well-defined divisional line between the two Churches, and thus forever prevent the two Churches from occupying the same territory. If our Northern brethren are good enough for our fraternity, can we not intrust to them the interests of Methodism in a given locality? And if they love us half so well as they claim, can they not confide to us the interests of Methodism in another locality? If not, then away with fraternity to the moles and the bats; it is a libel on Christianity.

It was with such interpretation that the Southern Annual Conferences ratified the "Cape May fraternity" with great unanimity, and even enthusiasm. But the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church were nearly all silent. Among those that spoke (guardedly) the Kentucky Conference adopted the following in 1877:

> The subject of fraternity is one of deep interest to us; and, as a Conference, we fully appreciate it. We heartily approve the

action of our General Conference in 1872 and 1876 upon this subject. We rejoice in the amicable settlement of property questions by the "Joint Commission" of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. But as some parts of their report have been differently interpreted we desire to be understood as indorsing no fraternity with any body that denies our right to extend our work in the Southern States. Nor do we believe the Methodist Episcopal Church ought to advise her communicants to join another Church for the sole reason that their "society is weak." So understood, we stand ready, in our homes, in our churches, and in our Conference, to respond heartily to every greeting that comes to us from those who love our Lord Jesus Christ.

The General Conference of 1880 said just as little as it could upon the action of the commission. Was it not because we had been acting unfraternally, according to their view, that the Southern General Conference, in Atlanta, Ga., 1878, refused to recognize or introduce a resident bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Bishop Gilbert Haven) who was twice present at their session? If we had begun to prepare for the withdrawal of our Church from the South, agreeably to their interpretation of the "agreement," our fraternal delegates sent to their General Conference in 1878 would not have been required to deliver their addresses in the Sunday-school room of the large church where the Conference was held—an arrangement that excluded five or six hundred people who desired to hear them. The strange treatment of Bishop Haven and our fraternal delegates—Cyrus D. Foss, D.D. (now Bishop), and the Hon. Will Cumback—in Atlanta, Ga., was in sharp contrast with the reception given to the bishops and delegates from the Southern Church by our General Conference two years later in Cincinnati. The want of a definite understanding by the two parties has made the practice of fraternity a very uncertain thing among us in the South. And our embarrassment has been not a little increased by the practice of some of our visiting brethren from the North, who have received courtesies from Southern churches and pastors where like courtesies were withheld from our resident ministers, and afterward published their observations upon our work and workmen as seen through Southern glasses —a practice happily now less indulged in than formerly.

But why should we not leave this field to the Southern

Church, since the majority of the Methodists will have the ministrations of a *Southern* Church? The answer is, that a minority of Methodists in the South, numbering over two hundred and twenty-five thousand souls, will *not* have the ministrations of a *Southern* Church. The desire of these people creates the need, and neither Church can turn away from her own people at the request of the other. If the Southern Church can draw a geographical line setting bounds to her work in a part of this country, the Methodist Episcopal Church cannot so limit her field. If organic union be the ultimate *desideratum* from our stand-point, it is not so from the Southern view. They have made themselves clearly understood on that point. It can never be a present *desideratum*, from any stand-point, until the people "flow" together. The differences between the two Churches are as vital to-day as they were in 1845. And there is need for our Church and her schools in the South only because it is not a Southern Church, and not because there is room enough for two Churches that are just alike in this field. The work of our Church here is greatly needed for its influence upon the white race in securing, at the earliest possible day, the recognition of the manhood of the negro, and because of the benefit to be received by both races from such recognition. The Southern Church opposes the Methodist Episcopal Church in this field, not because she is doing their work, but because she is undoing it—at least so far as that Church clings to the errors begotten by slavery. This work the Southern Church not only will not do, but she does not want it to be done.

The conflict is based upon something older than American slavery, and deeper than any race prejudice. There are two civilizations here, unlike and unreconcilable. Both are struggling for mastery, and each believes the Bible is on its side. The Southerner believes that the best possible Christian government in this world is one where the laborers are controlled by the ruling class. He believes the negro has been created for the inferior place, and the white man for the superior position. And he will not be fraternal, except at very long range, with those who teach that "all men are created free and equal." Mr. Calhoun in the United States Senate once said: "We regard slavery the most safe and stable for free institutions in the world." And Prince Metternich, of Austria, twenty years

earlier, uttered the conviction of Europe's rulers when he said: "There should be an impassable gulf between the laborer in the field and the gentleman in the palace." It is a Southern Methodist paper of to-day that says, "The Methodist Episcopal Church was sinfully wrong on the subject of slavery," and, "The Bible or the Methodist Episcopal Church must be changed before we can have organic union." Bacon says:

> There be two false peaces or unities—the one where peace is grounded upon an implied ignorance, for all colors agree in the dark; the other where it is peaced upon the direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in Nebuchadnezzar's image—they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

We have been working at both these kinds of "false peaces" while endeavoring to fix up peace hastily. The Nashville *Christian Advocate* said (1886):

> The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is reaching a larger proportion of people in the South than the Methodist Episcopal Church is reaching in the North.

And it spoke of a large district in Chicago as "absolutely neglected, while money is being poured out to no purpose upon a small church in the capital of Tennessee." "An investment not very wise nor very pious."

Now, if it were only a question of proportion of people reached, the objection to this work would have some weight. But there is another consideration, and that is, the influence upon the people who are reached by our work. That our Church has a different message for the white people from that of the Southern Church they proclaim, when they call our white societies "the Nigger Church." There is need for our work in the portions where there is a destitution of Southern churches. There is also need where there is no lack of their pastoral care. A view of the situation and the need of our work here cannot better be shown than by the following utterances of George W. Cable, as reported in the *Boston Journal*, from a speech delivered at Pittsfield, Mass., May 31, 1886, (Decoration Day). Mr. Cable is a Southern man, who gave his allegiance and service to the Southern Confederacy. He said:

> Sift right from wrong at any cost. . . . Beautiful as forgiveness is, to forgive and forget is not enough for brethren. We

must also understand. Forgiveness is the easier part in strife between brethren; mutual, complete, and final understanding is the greater difficulty, yet the equal necessity. . . . Too often, of late, the cry to forget the passions of strife—which Heaven help us to forget!—is made the plea for suppressing deathless issues. Great questions of human right and national integrity, pleading to Heaven's throne for adjustment, are half stifled under a mass of well-meaning sentimentality. True peace, true fraternity, cannot, by either side, be bought at such a price. Let us not repeat the old sentimentality, false alarms of danger, and false assurances of safety, that made for our fathers and elder brothers war at last the only road to understanding, and led them blindly into carnage.

Referring to the cause of strife he said the South built

on a mistake as old as Asia—that the safety of society necessitated the holding its lower classes in bondage. This theory was necessary to excuse the slavery in the minds of sincere, God-fearing, liberty-loving people, and to reconcile it to their Anglo-Saxon traditions. Very true, our pulpit taught us that Scripture sanctioned slavery; but we needed this theory to show us how it was that Scripture could or might sanction slavery. We have, then, two solid Souths—solid not by outward pressure, but by inherent principle. First, in each State the white ruling class, from sincere motives of self-preservation keeping the old servile race servile, and a second link of Southern rights around an assumed right to postpone a true and complete enfranchisement as long as the ruling class, in its private councils, may deem best. . . . You hear the phrase "true Southerner," "true South." These are what they say themselves are. Where a man or woman is born is no matter. A colored man is never esteemed a Southerner. And there are hundreds of men now in the South of any one of whom you may hear it said at any time, "Why, he is Northern born, but he is a good Southerner." It is a matter of belief in a social order which—I say it with all respect and kindness—is neither republican, nor democratic, nor American, but eighteenth-century English. Here you have the issue, and the whole key to the dead-lock in holding out for American liberty. The white for an arbitrary supremacy, confessedly inconsistent with American liberty, but in his sincere conviction essential to social order and his self-preservation. We have shown that the Southern question is real and open, that it is truly national, that it is no matter of animosity North, or resentment, or perversity, or disloyalty South, but on its dark side a profound error as to fundamental interests of public safety.

It sincerely believes that the preservation of society requires the domination of a fixed privileged class over a lower; that the whites constitute this privileged class, and that the blacks do, and must, and shall comprise the lower. . . . The only real interest is to remove this error with the least possible delay, for on its

face this is not something which time can be trusted to cure. Southern society is rebuilding on its defective foundations, and every day hides deeper, without removing, the fatal defect. In such a case to trust to time to do it is as senseless as trusting to luck. Time has done its part, all it could do. The remainder is left for our activities. To ask that time do that is to ask neglect to do it. See how far time is from doing it. Yonder is the South praying the nation to hold off not merely its interference, but its advice, nay, even its notice, while it not removes, but refines and polishes and garnishes and decorates, the disguise of its own and the nation's eyes. Is it wise, is it safe, is it faithful, is it kind for any citizen of the United States, Northern or Southern, to see the greatness of this mistake and let it go uncontroverted—or shall he not rather show forth, in season and out of season, the pressing wrongs and losses and future dangers that gather around this vital error?

Because there are many Methodists in the South who are not Southerners, and because the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was set up by Southerners, and is maintained for Southerners, the Methodist Episcopal Church has a mission in the South.

Let us look at some of the work already done. At the close of the war there was found a great lack of Methodist churches in some rural districts, especially in the mountainous portions, where the white people owned few slaves, or none. Beginning with north Georgia and Alabama, we find a strip of country two hundred miles wide, extending north-east through the western part of the Carolinas, Virginia, and West Virginia, including the eastern part of Kentucky and Tennessee, about one hundred miles either way from the crest of the Appalachian chain of mountains, in which the Church Extension Society of our Church has helped to build six hundred churches in the past twelve years, and perhaps three hundred and fifty previously. The most of this property is in churches for the whites. A closer examination of a small part of this territory will show how it had been neglected by the Southern Church, and how cultivated by ours. In twenty-five counties in eastern Kentucky is one fourth the area and one eighth the population of the State; that is, one half the average density of population (census 1880). In all that region there were but two towns of five hundred population, excepting three on the Ohio River. In more than one half of this territory the Presbyterians had

no organization, the Baptists had but few churches, and as for Southern Methodists, who had here a most inviting field, witness the following appeal for money, by the Missionary Committee of Kentucky Conference, Southern Church, published in the *Central Methodist*, July 4, 1876:

> In the mountains of eastern Kentucky we have sixteen mission fields (in as many counties), containing a population of 80,000. In these missions we have fourteen church buildings, while thirty societies are worshiping in court-houses, school-houses, and in private residences. Twelve new missions have been organized during the past three years. . . . Forty additional missionaries could be employed and more than a hundred congregations secured if the board could command the necessary funds.

A few months before this Dr. J. B. McFerrin, then secretary of their Missionary Society, in the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, republished some comparative statistics from our *Missionary Advocate* concerning this field, which excerpt he styled "Our Reproach," and no one seemed so much surprised at the facts presented as the Southern preachers themselves. Here is a sample district in that region in 1881. Barbourville District, Southern Church, had eleven charges with eight churches, total value $3,400. Five charges had no church, and one had a partnership church; average salary paid pastors, $106 21, and to the presiding elder $110. The Methodist Episcopal Church had a Barboursville District covering about the same ground. In the same year there were in it eleven pastoral charges, twenty-four churches valued at $10,000; salary of pastors, $165; presiding elders, $614. Williamsburg, Ky., which is in this region, had no church building of any denomination until 1883, though it had been the county seat of Whitley County for more than thirty years, and the population had reached five hundred. The Congregational Church was the first to build there.

The *Central Methodist* had the following editorial in September, 1877:

> Excepting on the border, Northern Methodism in Kentucky is so manifestly a failure that all further effort to maintain its organization is next to criminal, since the means and labor expended are not only sacrificed, but, by fostering and keeping alive sectional animosities, personal piques are engendered and the cause of Christ suffers damage.

The foregoing is a fair sample of the disparagement of our work by this particular *organ* of the Southern Methodist Church. And it is to rorrect misapprehensions caused by such misleading assertions, which have been frequently made, while the facts in the case have been withheld, that attention is called to the following facts. In 1866 the Methodist Episcopal Church had in Kentucky 68 churches, valued at $72,000; 47 pastoral charges; 5,795 members; benevolent collections were $640. In 1881 we had increased to 280 churches, valued at $514,970; 137 pastoral charges; 25,271 members (four fifths of them whites); and the benevolent collections $4,739 50; or an increase of churches fourfold, of value sevenfold, of members fourfold, and benevolent collections sevenfold in fifteen years. "Manifest failure!" In the whole State of Kentucky there are 378 pastors in the two Methodisms. There are 907 churches, valued at $1,600,000, and over 400 congregations without churches. The total membership is reported about 80,000. It will be seen that our Church has about one third of the whole Kentucky Methodism. It is often asked why we have not secured more strong churches in the interior towns of this State. It is because the number of large towns in the interior can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The census of 1880 showed only eight towns in Kentucky having over 5,000 inhabitants, and five of these are on the Ohio River; and only 41 towns had from 1,000 to 5,000 population. Only 27 per cent. of the people live in villages, towns, and cities, counting from villages of one hundred population and upward. In New York 70 per cent. are in the villages and towns, and only 30 per cent. of population is rural. This will explain why we have so large a proportion of circuits in this work, and the same holds good in all the South. Our work here should be compared with that of other Churches in the same locality. For example, take the Louisville Conference, Southern; there are 113 charges, seven of which (in 1880) were stations outside the city of Louisville, and but one of these paid a thousand dollars salary. In 1875 the writer made a comparison of the two Churches in ten of the largest county seats in the richer portion of the State, leaving out Louisville and Covington. Average population of towns, 4,568; the taxable valuation of the ten counties was $85,000,000; the average membership of

Southern Church was 183; the salary, $1,009 50; benevolent collections, $137. The Methodist Episcopal Church had an average membership of 223; salary, $1,019; and benevolent collections, $212 40. Ten other county towns were taken where we had no society. They were in counties of the same aggregate wealth, but somewhat smaller population in the towns, and it was found that the Southern Church paid better salaries, and gave more for benevolence in the towns where there was joint occupancy than where they occupied alone. Comparing the same Churches seven years later, it was again found that the Southern Church had increased in membership more in the towns where we had churches than where they were the sole occupants. Our Church pays more per member for benevolence in Kentucky Conference than either of the Southern Conferences in this State, small as it seems when compared with our Northern Conferences. Our best four churches are worth more by $50,000 than the four highest valued in either Southern Conference. And when we go to the other end of the line we find thirteen of our churches valued at $100 each, and the two Southern Conferences have twenty-six of the same kind. The failure of our friends in the North to appreciate the importance of our work in this field has arisen from an overestimate of the other Churches on this ground—a mistake that is supported by such statements as the following from the organ before quoted, Jan. 25, 1887:

> The first of next April the *Central* will close the twentieth year of its existence. At the time it started the Southern Methodist Church in half of Kentucky and all of West Virginia had scarcely a name, with only an organization here and there. To-day she stands proudly forth as one of the most powerful organizations in the two States, a miracle of growth and power.

Now this sounds well, but statistics are never coupled with such talk in that paper. Comparing the Southern Methodist Church with the Methodist Episcopal Church in West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, the portion covered by the Conference of which the editor of the *Central Methodist* is himself a member, we find the Methodist Episcopal Church has about three times as many members, churches, and pastors as the Southern Church has there, with four times the Church property, and in nearly all this region our work has been newly begun since the war.

This disparagement of our work on one hand, and over-statement of their own on the other, has not only misled some of our people, but their own people are also misled. At the session of their Conference a few years since in Catlettsburg, one of their elder members being asked how many charges there were in the Conference, promptly replied, "About a hundred." The number was just sixty-six; fifteen of them in Kentucky, the rest spread over all West Virginia! The highest salary paid was $1,250, the next highest $666, and the next was below four hundred dollars.

These sweeping assertions, "miracles of growth and power" on one side, and "manifest failure" on the other, have not been given here to show how a certain paper exceeds others in this kind of misrepresentation, but to call attention, by a few striking examples, to a fact peculiar to much Southern journalism; namely, that the facts pertaining to the case are not given to the people so much as high-sounding praise of their own works and unjust disparagement of the work done by our Church. Dr. Haygood made this statement a few years since: "The one best thing Southern people can do for the negro is to acquaint themselves with the facts in the case of the negro in the school." This saying may be applied with equal pertinence to this field of our labor among the whites, for they have refused to see any thing in it. Nothing has been counted more unfraternal on our part than calling attention to facts. When we tell of destitution of churches or schools in any locality as a reason for pushing forward our work we are said to be "abusing the South." It was by publishing the facts about the contract labor of convicts in the South that George W. Cable became one of the most universally hated men in the Southern country.

But while there has been substantial success in some parts of the South there have been many points where our Church is weak, as in the capital of Tennessee, where Dr. Fitzgerald says it is not needed; and although some societies have been abandoned after fifteen or more years' trial, yet our people who are still in the small churches in large towns, without expectation of becoming large societies in the near future, and who have put their families at great disadvantage socially and have embarrassed their business interests by their adherence to the Methodist Epis-

copal Church, are just as confident that our Church has a mission where the Southern Church has no lack of pastoral care, as in the regions that have been neglected or insufficiently supplied by that Church. The missionary appropriations to these Churches have not been so large as to relieve these people from carrying heavy burdens, yet they have willingly assumed financial and other burdens beyond those that fall to our people in any other field, in order to be in the Church they believe to be right.

The foregoing fragmentary sketch indicates the line we have been proceeding upon hitherto, and the signs of the times appear to give promise that the policy of our Church in the South will soon be settled once for all. The keeping out of sight certain differences between the Churches has promoted peace. But the Chattanooga controversy has brought all these matters to the front again, and the "peace" is much disturbed. This matter of Professor Caulkins's refusal to shake hands with a colored minister of our Church in Chattanooga, and the refusal to admit two negro boys into Chattanooga University, has called up the whole question of the policy of our Church in the South.

The trustees of this institution believed, 1. That the Church had authorized them to establish a school for whites, exclusively; 2. That by excluding colored students the school would reach and influence a much larger class of Southern people than by any other policy; 3. That a school for the whites could not be maintained if any colored pupils were admitted; 4. That the Church having built so many schools for the colored people, it would be gross neglect of the white people in the South to withhold schools from them. Agreeably to this understanding a faculty was selected, and, upon the opening of the school, it was made sufficiently plain to all interested parties, without using the precise language of a certain Birmingham pastor, that colored students were neither expected nor desired to attend. Southern people regarded this as a Southern school in one important particular at least, though not perhaps to the extent of a certain young ladies' seminary in Kentucky, whose president, a Southern Methodist preacher, said in the Prospectus, 1885, "The faculty has been selected with reference to a pure type of Southern culture." Chattanooga was not to have a mixed

school as to color of pupils, but something like a mixed type of Southern culture. The Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society was called to meet in Cincinnati, February 22, 1877, to consider the refusal of trustees of Chattanooga University to remove Professor Caulkins from the faculty upon the request of the executive committee, and the refusal to admit two colored students who applied for admission to the university. There was placed in the hands of each member of the Board of Managers, by their executive committee, all the legislation of the General Conference bearing upon this matter collated and printed. On the first page of the pamphlet were the following significant paragraphs:

It being held by many that the creation of white and colored Conferences for the territory in the South prepared the way for separate schools, we deem it proper to cite the action of the General Conference. . . .

It may be proper to direct your attention to what may be styled the dual character of this legislation, seen in the declaration of rights of all preachers and members, and in the sanction of an administration adjusted to the peculiar social conditions in the South.

A portion of Report No. 3 of Freedmen's Aid Committee, presented and adopted on May 22, 1884, was as follows:

The establishment of schools for the benefit of our white membership in the South we believe to have been a wise and necessary measure. Their success has been gratifying. The beneficial results have not been confined to those immediately interested, but their liberalizing effects upon public sentiment have greatly redounded to the advantage of our colored people. We regret that for so great and important a work so little has been done by the Church, and we desire most emphatically to give expression to our conviction that the time has come when this portion of our educational work should be strengthened and placed upon a strong and permanent basis, as its importance certainly demands. To the question of mixed schools we have given our most serious and prayerful attention. It is a subject beset with peculiar difficulties. That the colored man has a just and equal right, not only to life and liberty, but also to the means of grace and facilities for education, we not only admit, but most positively affirm.

We are in duty bound to provide for and to secure to every class of our membership, so far as possible, a fair and equal opportunity in church and school accommodations. And in so far as this is done our duty is performed, and the equal rights justly demanded of us thus fairly and fully conceded.

Mixed congregations and mixed schools may, in many places, be most desirable, and best for all concerned. In other places, one class or the other, or both, may prefer separate congregations and separate schools.

Equal rights to the best facilities for intellectual and spiritual culture, equal rights in the eligibility to every position of honor and trust, and equal rights in the exercise of a free and unconstrained choice in all social relations, is a principle at once American, Methodistic, and scriptural. Therefore,

Resolved, 1. That we most sincerely rejoice in the progress made in the work of education among our colored people in the South, and pledge ourselves to stand by and assist them in the further prosecution of this work to the extent of our ability, and, so far as possible, to the extent of their need in this direction.

A very short clause might have been added to this report that would have definitely committed the Church to the policy of excluding colored pupils, or a clause forbidding such exclusion. It was the lack of such explicit statement in any and every report of this committee that led to the presentation of the following declaration of policy from the Committee on the State of the Church, which was adopted May 28, 1884:

Resolved, That this General Conference declares the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be, that no member of any society within the Church shall be excluded from public worship in any and every edifice of the denomination, and no student shall be excluded from instruction in any and every school under the supervision of the Church, because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

This latest utterance of the General Conference would seem to be pretty clear and specific, as indicating that any separation of students must not be compulsory. And this declaration was in harmony with all the previous acts of the Freedmen's Aid Society. Schools already established had not refused admission to any student. The trustees, however, believed they had the right to exclude colored students from Chattanooga University. They finally agreed to maintain the school according to the views of the Board of Managers, but appealed from their decision to the next General Conference. Very much of the discussion brought on by this matter has proceeded upon the different views regarding the General Conference action upon our educational policy in the South, and

not upon the merits of the case. Thus Dr. J. W. Gilbert, in *The Christian Advocate*, April 7, 1887, says vigorously:

> It may now be seen how odious was the action of the last General Conference. In the face of law and custom that body declared "that the entire educational work in the Southern States should be under the direction of one society," and "that, in view of the great success of the Freedmen's Aid Society," it "ought to have the full charge of this work."

There are many who believe with Dr. Gilbert, that this trouble grows out of the fact that the schools for the whites are committed to the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society, which policy, he says, is a "degradation of the white work." And these appear to believe that an act of the next General Conference confining the said society to the work of colored schools, and the setting up of some other society to look after the educational interests of our white people in the South, would settle all this vexed question, and open a way for schools into which no colored pupils would be admitted. But the question as to what society shall control the Chattanooga University is a very small one compared with this greater question, Shall the Methodist Episcopal Church exclude colored pupils from this university?

The writer has personal acquaintance with nearly all the members of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and listened to their discussions upon the Chattanooga matters, and he knows that, while they held themselves as acting under direction of the Church, they saw in the merits of this case something infinitely larger than jurisdiction.

Let us look at some of the arguments adduced for the policy adopted at Chattanooga. It is said that the General Conference unmistakably favored the establishment of white schools. It did certainly approve all that had been done in that direction. But up to that time no colored student had been excluded from a white school. It was claimed that "no school for whites can be maintained at Chattanooga without excluding colored students. Therefore the Church authorized the trustees to exclude William Wilson and L. C. Gibbs, in October, 1886, from this particular school, because they were Negroes." But this act was based upon an *assumption*. We had not tried to set up a school in Chattanooga for whites without excluding

colored students. It is also urged that, having set up separate Conferences, the way was so "prepared for separate schools" that the Church could not now, consistently, establish mixed schools. Very likely, but then it is always better to be right than to be consistent. We must draw the line somewhere. And we have the precedent in the inconsistent act of General Conference in 1844 by which Bishop Andrew was suspended from exercising the duties of his office for slave-holding, when ministers and members of the Church were permitted to hold slaves.

Perhaps it is time to inquire if there have not been some considerable losses as well as gains to our colored brethren in the separation of Conferences. After giving full weight to all the advantages of learning self-reliance by doing conference business, and securing a representation in General Conference which is proportionately larger than that of the whites, because their small Conferences make the number of their lay delegates nearly equal to their clerical, and whatever of wholesome stimulus has come of these things, we shall not have the net gain of this business until we reckon up the other side of the account. Some of our own white people in the South, who have strongly urged the adoption of the policy of separate Conferences, have come to be quite willing now that the colored people shall go altogether out of our Church; and the number of those who so believe appears to be increasing. The Southern Church constantly recommends this course to our colored members. And Southern Methodists did believe, when we started these separate Conferences, it would end in a complete separation.

Because of the many schools established for the colored people by our Church, and because of the difficulties attending the establishment of schools for the whites in the South, there are among our white people in the South some who say, "We have been doing too much for the negro," or, "every thing for the negro and nothing for the whites." The fact that there is great destitution of education among some of the whites in the South gives great weight to this complaint when we look on one side only. Other facts are often forgotten by our complainers; namely, The best schools in the South, public and private, are all open to the whites and closed against the colored people. If for a whole generation we shall

do fourfold more than we have been doing for the colored people they cannot be lifted to privileges equal to those now enjoyed by the whites. Moreover, we shall not help the whites in the South if we neglect the negro. The interests of the two races are bound together. The illiteracy of the whites was made inevitable by the slavery which degraded the negro; and the greatest barrier in the way of removing this illiteracy will be found in the disposition on the part of the whites to keep the negro in an inferior position.

If aid to public schools from the United States treasury could be used for whites only, it would not have been stopped by Southern sentiment. What, then, are we to do? Plainly I answer, We must go forward, encounter the difficulties and overcome them.

Let us look at some of the obstacles. We have been told that if white schools are not exclusive a large number of colored students would come in and so destroy the school; that Yale or Harvard could not stand such a test as would be put upon these schools. This is not proven. Let it be fairly tried. The real objection is not the number of colored students. Whenever we open a school for whites into which one negro is admitted, or one who is one fourth or one eighth negro, we come into conflict with "the peculiar social conditions in the South." There are some who seek to avoid this conflict. We have been often told that Southern people better understand the negro than the Northern man, and therefore they should be permitted to determine all these matters without outside interference. Mr. Cable, in the address before mentioned, says:

> The truth is, nobody has had to correct so many and such radical mistakes concerning the negro as the Southerners themselves. I speak as one of them. We did not believe he would work of his own accord until we saw him do it. We did not believe he would study until we saw him do that. We still rejected the idea that he could learn any thing more than the mere rudiments of an education. When we saw him graduate from colleges we could scarcely believe our eyes. In short, we had not supposed he ever would or could qualify as an intelligent citizen. But for all that, it is almost wholly due to the educational missions carried on in the South by the people who did not, according to the belief on our side, understand the negro, that the South is to-day indebted for a corps of sixteen thousand colored teachers for its colored youth, leading their thought and lifting the errors of their race.

If we avoid the conflict with this Southern sentiment by conciliating it, a much larger immediate success would doubtless be attained. We have been told that the way to capture the "Bourbonism" of the South is to recognize its prejudices, and so bring its children into our schools. There is a kind of success that comes quickly but is not worth the price it costs. The Methodist Episcopal Church can afford to tarry awhile at the foundations of her great educational work. The world crowns the successful man without inquiring much about how he achieved success. God crowns the faithful man without respect to present success. Elijah might have succeeded better in Israel if he had conceded a little to the notions of the people and had conciliated the queen. It is better, however, for the man of God, in any age, to find himself sitting under the juniper tree than to be honored when a great wrong is upheld.

It has been often said that if we wish to work in this field we must recognize the fact of the race prejudice in the South. And to this no one would object if the word "recognize" were not meant to include respect. David recognized the lion and the bear, but he did not respect them or attempt to conciliate them. This unrighteous prejudice against the negro will yield to the same policy that David employed against the spoilers of his flock. The feeling of Southerners toward the negro is clearly shown in the bill imposing chain-gang and other penalties upon teachers and trustees of white schools in which colored pupils are allowed to enter. This bill passed the House of Georgia's Legislature in 1887, and would have passed the Senate and become law with general approval, but for the fear of its effect upon the presidential election the next year. The bill which took the place of it was scarcely better, for it cuts off all students who attend any mixed school from ever becoming teachers in any school where the State gives aid.

But why should it be said this thing cannot be done when we have not tried to do it? It is a fact that this kind of work has been done. The Congregational Church has carried on a mixed school in central Kentucky for twenty-three years. Under the same auspices an academy was opened for whites, but not exclusively, in Williamsburg, Whitley County, Ky. In January, 1885, several colored girls were received. Three fourths of the pupils left the school at once; but in a few

months they nearly all returned, and so many new pupils that the numbers were made up. Within a year the colored girls left, and the school from that time has been attended by none but whites, though open to all. And this will doubtless be the result wherever the experiment shall be fairly made. A little trouble may be encountered at the beginning, but that a large number of colored students will ever crowd into a school established for the whites there is no good reason to believe. Berea College, in Kentucky, where the races are mixed in not very unequal proportions, is exceptional. There will not be many like it in this generation. The colored people will prefer their own schools, and so will the whites. But the separation must be voluntary. A few colored students may be expected in some schools intended for whites, and *vice versa*. The Freedmen's Aid Society has settled the policy for Chattanooga University until the General Conference, when the appeal of the trustees will open the question of our policy for final settlement. There will be a more definite understanding of what we mean by fraternity after this matter is adjusted. The policy of the Church in sending pastors to build up societies in the South will probably be distinctly set forth, for school and church are one. They will stand or fall together. The opening of Chattanooga University in September, 1887, with twenty-eight students and a full corps of teachers, is every way creditable to the Church. The number increased to fifty-nine by the middle of October, no colored students having applied for admission. It may take many years to secure as many pupils in this school as there were the first year, when colored students were rejected; but the Methodist Episcopal Church can better sustain that school for twenty years waiting for pupils, and then close it for want of pupils, than to be on the wrong side of the great question now before the Church. It was shown in a previous paper * that the Southerner is opposed to the higher education of the negro; and this is the ground of all his objection to mixed schools.

Speaking of our Church, Bishop Wiley said to the writer, in 1880: "Our white work in the South is breaking down in the estimation of our Northern people." Those who heard him plead for this work before the General Missionary Committee in 1883 will not forget the knowledge he had of the situation

* *Review*, May, 1886.

here, and the earnestness of his plea for the more vigorous prosecution of this work.

But our Church has been halting too long, and questioning about this work, while considering what the Southern Church papers have uttered about "fraternity" and "peace," the price of which they placed at our withdrawal from this field. The frequent censorious allusions to our work by the Southern press have not been without effect upon our friends in the North. Now we have been listening to abundance of statements since 1866 from those who are opposed to any and all of our work among the whites in the South. Very much that might have been said relative to the need of our Church here by those who are engaged in it has been restrained by the cry of "unfraternal," raised against those who have spoken.

While two hundred thousand of our own people have been comparatively silent in the midst of loud objectors, there are tens of thousands who are silent in the Southern Church to-day who do not object to our Church, but desire to be in it. Let the Methodist Episcopal Church go forward here as elsewhere, and erelong she will find these thousands, and hear the voice of the hitherto silent South. And when it shall speak there will be a new South. It is here, where illiteracy hinders the Gospel and threatens the destruction of the State; here, where an unrighteous and foolish prejudice against the negro puts a clog upon every movement designed to lift the masses of the people out of ignorance—it is here, if anywhere in the earth, that the Methodist Episcopal Church should be aggressive. And she will find and fulfill her mission in the South by preaching a Gospel that puts no limitations of class or color upon the proclamation, "Good-will toward men."

J. D. WALSH.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

NOTES ON GENERAL CONFERENCE LEGISLATION.

THE months preceding the assembling of a General Conference are uniformly productive of so many proposed modifications of our Church polity and amendments of our "rules and regulations" as to fill ultra-conservative minds with fears that rash legislation may imperil the peace and well-being of the Church. Such minds have an intuitive dread of innovation either in Church or State. As Sydney Smith expresses it, they have "a horror of change, whether it be of evil for good or good for evil." And this instinct is often intensified by a party spirit of which, perchance, they are but dimly, if at all, conscious.

Opposed to the ultra-conservative stands the ultra-radical. He loves change for its own sake. He glories in digging down to the roots of things, in overturning the old that he may experiment with new theories which have their birth, not in the discriminations of sound reasoning, but in imagination, sentiment, or the thoughtless demands of an evanescent popular fancy.

Truth is credited with the wisdom which shuns extremes. Her chosen abode is usually midway between them. One is not likely, therefore, to find the best things for the General Conference of 1888 to do in the opinions of either the ultra-conservative or the ultra-radical. Yet, since there may be a measure of truth in the views of each, it may be one's duty to listen to both, that by comparing and examining their opinions one may perhaps arrive at a safer conclusion than can be reached by giving attention to one party only.

The stereotyped contention of the ultra-conservative is, that no important changes are needed in the regulations of the Church. All things, he thinks, ought to remain as nearly as possible as they were shaped by the founders of Methodism, whose wisdom he worships and whose polity and rules he would have the Church regard as irrevocable. "They were very wise men," he urges, "therefore the present generation ought to adhere as strictly as possible to the regulations they established." In reasoning thus, however, he forgets that those fathers who were, doubtless, wise in their generation showed their wisdom not only by their legislative creations, but also by not attempting to perpetrate the folly of making irrevocable laws, or of precluding their successors from enacting such rules as they might judge necessary to adapt Methodism to the exigencies of their own times. Rather, they recognized the right of every coming generation to modify their original legislation according to its own sense of the fitness of things, by giving the General Conference "full power to

make Rules and Regulations," and, the Annual Conferences assenting, even to alter the fundamental laws of the Church. It follows, therefore, that in objecting to all change, and especially to important changes, the ultra-conservative objects to the wisdom of our founders in thus providing for, and in effect inviting, changes which they evidently foresaw would be necessary to adapt the Methodism of the future to its ever-changing environments. Instead, therefore, of feeling grieved or alarmed at discussions looking to modifications of our Church polity, the ultra-conservative should see in them a reflection of the spirit of our founders, an evidence of a healthy, vigorous Methodistic life, a sign of progress, and a pledge of further ecclesiastical development. Rightly viewed, the absence of such discussions would be cause for apprehending that, instead of being a living body, our Church was becoming like a morass in the depth of a forest—a thing of dull stagnation.

But the ultra-radical, who pays no respect to the wisdom of our Church fathers, and who seeks ill-considered changes from mere love of change or in obedience to popular demands made in defiance of the teaching of experience and the dictates of sound, dispassionate judgment, is no less open to censure than the ultra-conservative. Both are wrong. The latter would cramp and stifle the spirit of progress; the former, by demanding rash legislation, presses the Church upon those perils which arise from measures ill-adapted to the condition of things and to prevailing Church opinions. Both, therefore, are dangerous factors. Both need, in their relations to Church discipline and General Conference action, to cherish the disposition expressed by Sydney Smith, who, speaking of political reforms, said, "As for us, we have no love of change nor fear of it, but a love of what is just and wise as far as we are able to find it out."

In this last sentence we have the true key-note of safe discussion and safe Church legislation. Animated by "a love of what is just and wise," and deciding on what is just and wise, not from impulse or sentiment, but after grave and patient consideration, neither our theorists nor our General Conference legislators are likely to go far astray. Our existing environments, prevailing ideas governing the thought of the Church and of society, with such elements in our methods as are believed to retard our growth in any direction, are among the things which need to be considered. The view-point for such consideration is the seat of a pupil in the school of Christ. Scripture principles must be taken to illuminate the inquirer's mental vision, and the experience both of the Church universal and of our own Church in particular may be taken as side-lights by which to find the practical results of principles when fittingly applied, or when misapplied to conditions more or less analogous to our own. But on the question of experience, we, ultra-conservatives especially, do well to remember that we are wiser than our Church fathers, whose legislation, from the necessity of the case, was largely empirical. In organizing American Methodism they were mere children when compared with ourselves, seeing that we have the experience of a century of the life of Methodism on which to ground our judgments, while they had little other expe-

rience to guide them than that of the Wesleyan societies in England; and these were not living under conditions analogous to their own. As Jeremy Bentham well observes, "Experience is certainly the mother of wisdom. . . . Of *individuals* living at the same period the oldest has, of course, the greatest experience; but among *generations* of men the reverse of this is true. Those who come first are the young people, and have the least experience. We have added to their experience the experience" (of a century), "and therefore as far as experience goes are wiser and more capable of forming an opinion than they were." Let us hope, therefore, that our legislators of the present will make as judicious use of our larger experience as the "fathers" did of their lesser experience.

Extension of the Pastoral Term of Service.

Among questions which will be mooted in the coming General Conference is that of the extension or abrogation of the so-called "time-limit." Shall the possible length of a pastor's relation to a particular church remain at the present limit of three years? shall it be extended to four or five years? or shall it continue as long as, in the judgment of the bishop and his council of presiding elders it is profitable to his church? The question will not be that of making any appointment for more than one year at a time, but of giving discretionary authority to the bishops to renew appointments year by year as just stated.

This question, like the theory of a connectional itinerancy, is one that must be determined in the light of experience, because there is no definite and authoritative principle to which an appeal can be intelligently made. There is no Scripture that makes an itinerant system obligatory; no word of Christ that determines whether the pastoral relation shall be permanent or specifically limited. Both questions are left discretionary. God calls men to the ministerial vocation. The conditions as to time, place, authority, and church organization under which they may perform its duties are not prescribed. The man called may be an itinerant or a settled minister, may accept a call from a local church or enter a connectional body and find his sphere of labor through the appointment of a bishop. In either case he can fully meet the obligations of his vocation. He is at liberty to choose as his tastes, judgment, or providential opportunities may incline, provided only that his choice be pivoted on a fixed purpose to work where he can best serve humanity and be comforted with the approval of his Lord.

The question of extending or removing the time-limit must therefore be viewed as one of pure expediency. The Church is free to use her godly judgment. No command of Christ binds her to one thing or the other. Her only obligation in the matter is to ascertain, as far she can, precisely what is most likely to increase her power as a spiritual force in society. To assist her in reaching a conclusion on this vital question she has the experience of over a hundred years on which to ground her action.

The purpose of this article is not to determine what the teaching of her experience is, but only to indicate the line of inquiry which leads up to

it. And this line may be found by the impartial consideration of this question, namely, "Is the growth of the Church under the present time-limit so completely satisfactory as to leave all claims for its extension without adequate support?"

To this many good and thoughtful men, pointing to our grand numerical increase, to our numerous revivals, and to our enlarged benevolent contributions, will give a jubilant and affirmative response. But others, equally thoughtful and good, will claim that these gratifying signs of progress are not a conclusive solution of the problem, which, they insist, involves other important factors. This class of thinkers, while gladly accepting the fact of our numerical gains, will ask such questions as these: 1. Why is it that the number of our positively strong local churches is not increased in proportion to our aggregate gain in numbers? 2. Why is not our hold on the educated classes of society deeper and firmer than it is? 3. Why do the children of our prosperous and more highly cultivated families in the older parts of the country forsake our altars in such startling numbers? 4. Why do so many men of worth and talent quit our ministry and enter other communions? 5. Why is it that our ministers in large cities so rarely gain such a commanding status as representative clergymen in the public thought as is often conceded to clergymen of sister Churches? 6. Why is it that after more than a century of our evangelical success the prejudices of society outside the Church against an itinerant ministry, if not now so openly pronounced, is yet as positive and general as it was in the time of our fathers?

The solution of these problems, say this class of thinkers, is to be found mainly in the brevity of the stay permitted to our ministers under the present rule. They contend that since many of our leading ministers are the equals in every sense of men who acquire immense social and public influence, and who retain the families of their members in their respective communions, the known and certain brevity of the term of their pastorate must be accepted as the chief reason of this difference between them and men whose longer stay identifies them more fully with both their own churches and with general society. They further insist that the modern Methodist pastor is more heavily handicapped by the public prejudice against a short-lived pastorate than our fathers were, because in the olden time the Methodist preacher was the almost exclusive teacher of a free and full salvation for all who choose to accept it. The pulpits of his day were emphatic in enforcing the dogmas of Calvinistic predestination. Hence when men embraced Christ as the Saviour who "tasted death for every man," they could not listen without wounded moral feeling to preaching which arbitrarily limited this salvation to "the elect." They were therefore bound to their Methodist teacher by a tie of conscience sufficiently strong to overcome their merely conventional dislike of his temporary pastorate. But to-day no such tie binds the worshiper to a Methodist church. His creed has triumphed over the offensive theology of other days. The magnetism of Methodistic Arminianism and of its cheerful spiritual life is now the common possession of most evangelical

Churches. He is, therefore, free from that conscientious restraint which held his ancestors to their own Church, and feels at liberty to gratify his prejudice against a short-lived pastorate and to satisfy the social aspirations of his family by placing himself under the care of a more settled ministry.

By this and similar reasoning on alleged facts many advocates of an extension of the time-limit support their claim. The present experience of the Church, they contend, justifies such a change in the rule as will adjust it to existing conditions of thought and feeling. Whether they or the opponents of any change are right is not here affirmed or denied, but it is claimed that the brethren, lay and clerical, with whom its decision will rest next May, should carefully and conscientiously consider all the facts pertinent to the question, thereby ascertaining, not what was best in other times, but whether the *present* experience of the Church is or is not such as to require some alteration in the rule.

The Election of Presiding Elders.

Another question which will come up for discussion is the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conferences. The necessity of such officers to the working of our itinerant system will not be disputed. It is conceded by all parties that no bishop whose field of duty is world-wide, as is that of our *general* superintendents, can intelligently fix the appointments in any Conference without the counsel of brethren having such knowledge of its preachers and churches as its presiding elders possess. He must see most things through their eyes, or be kept in unavoidable ignorance of facts necessary to the right exercise of the most important function of his office. But the question of his relation to his counselors —whether they shall be arbitrarily chosen by himself or elected by their brethren from among a limited number of his nominees- -is one which has been frequently discussed from the beginning of our Church life, is much disputed to-day, and will no doubt be seriously considered in the coming General Conference.

Like the time-limit rule, this issue is not so much one directly involving any abstract right that may be claimed by either the bishops or the Conferences as one that is practical. It is a conventional arrangement, the value of which must be mainly determined by its results—that is, by the past and present experience of the Church.

Those who advocate its change insist that the fact of its having been constantly and warmly discussed through the life-time of the Church is conclusive evidence that the existing mode of appointing presiding elders is not, and never has been, entirely satisfactory. Those who favor the present mode affirm that the controversy has not represented the thought and feeling of the great body of the Church, but only of a limited number, albeit these, if candid, feel obliged to admit that this minority has always represented many of the best thinkers and most loyal adherents of Methodism.

It is also contended by conservative brethren, that the fitness of things

requires that bishops, whose duty it is "to fix the appointments," should have the right of choosing their own advisers. To this, progressive men reply that the right of a bishop in respect of this duty must depend on the concession of the parties who make the duty an administrative function of his office. If fixing the appointments was a right inhering in the episcopal office it would be fitting that he should select whom he would to assist him in its exercise. But neither our Church, nor any other Protestant Church, recognizes the abstract right of a bishop to arbitrarily "fix the appointments." He is only *primus inter pares;* that is, a traveling elder whom his peers have elected to an office to which, with its other functions, they have associated the duty of assigning them to their fields of ministerial labor. Now, inasmuch as vast consequences to their churches and to their individual usefulness and domestic comfort depend upon his right and judicious performance of this stupendous duty, the fitness of things, say these advocates of a change in the rule, certainly admits, if it does not actually demand, that the bishop's advisers shall be brethren who, being both his nominees and the elected representatives of the men to be appointed, possess the confidence of both. To have a cabinet so elected, it is urged, could no more derogate from the dignity of the episcopal office than the law requiring the President of the United States to select his cabinet advisers "by and with the consent of the Senate" lowers the dignity of his office. On the other hand, the bishop, by sharing the immeasurable responsibilities of this most important of episcopal duties with men duly authorized to advise and assist him, would be essentially aided in bearing its burden, which is of such fearful weight that even an angel having full comprehension of its eternal issues might well stagger beneath it. This "vexed question" involves the future prosperity of our Church. And it is for the General Conference, after giving due weight to these opposing contentions and viewing the question in the lights of experience and of the fitness of things, to determine what is the best and wisest thing to do with it.

Women as General Conference Delegates.

The discussion of the right of women to sit as delegates in the General Conference cannot be avoided, because several lay conferences have elected women who will probably appear and claim the rights of delegates in the coming session of that body. To most lovers of peace and harmony the election of these ladies is a matter of regret, if for no other reason, because it must force the consideration of the rights of women upon the Conference in an irregular manner. Instead of coming before it on its merits, it will appear in a form that must embarrass its discussion. The ladies, being there with the firm belief that their certificates of election are valid, will naturally resent any action that will impeach the legality of their claim to sit as delegates. To refuse them recognition will be a very disagreeable duty, and some members of the body may therefore feel disposed to view it as a question of sentiment and respect for womanhood

rather than, as it is in itself, a simple question of law. That their constituents honestly believed it their legal right to be represented by women need not be disputed. But their belief does not change the fundamental law of the Church, which provides that "lay delegates shall consist of two *laymen* for each Annual Conference." This language is unequivocal. It can mean nothing else than that lay delegates must be *male* members of the Church. No other meaning would ever have been given it had not the General Conference of 1872 passed a resolution that in "all matters connected with the election of lay delegates the word 'laymen' must be understood to include all members of the Church who are not members of the Annual Conferences." That the intention of that Conference in adopting this somewhat ambiguously worded resolution was not to authorize the election of women as lay delegates, but only to recognize local, that is, lay, preachers as laymen, so as to make them eligible to election as lay delegates, is proven by the speeches of the brethren who supported it. Up to this point it has legal force because the question involved is clearly within the legislative authority of the General Conference. But it loses that force when it is made to give an interpretation to a word in the Constitution contrary both to its previously and universally accepted meaning, and to the well known intention both of the General Conference which adopted it, and of the Annual Conferences which gave it legal efficacy by their concurrence. To affirm the contrary is to assert that the General Conference can change the plain meaning of the Constitution of the Church by an interpretative resolution—that it can amend that document by giving arbitrary and unauthorized definitions to its terms, thereby nullifying our Restrictive Rules, which forbid its amendment except with the concurrence of the Annual Conferences. This is most assuredly a novel theory in Methodism, as it is also in all legislation limited by clearly defined constitutional principles. Applied to our National Congress it would justify that body in amending the Constitution of the United States by resolutions giving interpretations to its words such as its authors never intended, and such as no lexicologist could defend. It has no justification either in our Church history or in the fitness of things. One can therefore scarcely doubt that the coming session of the Conference will disavow it, and declare that none but laymen, that is, *male* members of the Church, are legally entitled to be recognized therein as lay delegates.

To such a declaration, it may be safely assumed, every lover of Church order—and it may be presumed that there will be none but such in that venerable body—will quietly submit. Then, if there be any of its members who believe the interests of Christ's kingdom require that the Methodist Episcopal Church should depart from the universal usage of the Christian Church by admitting women into its governing body, they will be at liberty to give a legitimate introduction to the question by a motion to amend those parts of our Constitution which determine the composition of the General Conference. The magnitude of the issue involved, the doubt of many as to its expediency, its wisdom, and its harmony with the will of Christ, demand that the question should be fully discussed. Concerning

the parity of men and women in spiritual things there is no question. In Christ there is neither male nor female. But against her claim to a part in governing the Church several facts are pleaded, such as, 1. That though Christ, woman's emancipator, treated women with dignified tenderness and suffered them to minister to his personal needs, yet he never, in any way, intimated that he expected them to take part with men in the government of his Church: 2. That Christ commissioned no woman to preach; he gave her no place among the "seventy" nor in the apostolic twelve: 3. That in the apostolic Church, though women were encouraged to render service as "deaconesses of the Gospel in the recesses of family life," yet, as Neander affirms, "in conformity to their natural destination, they were excluded from the offices of teaching and governing the Church: 4. That during all the ages no great ecclesiastical body has admitted them to its governing assemblies, synods, conventions, or conferences. With these facts before them many of our people, while fully estimating the heroic zeal, the self-sacrifice, the efficiency of many women in some moral and spiritual spheres of service, are still in doubt respecting the propriety of such a departure from the practice of the Church universal as is involved in giving them the right to sit as members of the General Conference. Their doubt may be only the fruit of prejudice: it may be founded on an intelligent perception of woman's dependence on man as a fact divinely ordained. But, be its foundation what it may, it is, under the present conditions of the question, entitled to respect, and to such an opportunity for deliberate consideration as is afforded by the legitimate process required by the Discipline for the amendment of a Constitutional rule. And, besides these reasons, the General Conference will need to act in view of the fact that by changing its constituency without the consent of the Annual Conferences it puts such of its decisions as may be questioned in a court of law in peril of being declared invalid by such court.

The Need of Episcopal Authority in Our Foreign Missions.

The obvious need of more effective superintendence in all our foreign missions than is possible under the present plan of biennial episcopal visitations will compel the attention of the approaching General Conference to the question of how that need can best be met. In the General Conference of 1856 our bishops, speaking in their Address of Liberia, said that it needed "*episcopal authority on the spot.*" This significant phrase was happily chosen, and it expresses just what is needed to-day in China, India, Japan, Germany, Italy, and Scandinavia. Nothing less than "episcopal authority on the spot" can reasonably be expected to develop these missions in harmony with the genius of our episcopal and connectional system. Without the presence of bishops permanently identified with them these missions must appear, both to our converts and to the communities around them, as episcopal bodies in very little else than name—as being ecclesiastically headless. The flying visits of different bishops who cannot speak the language of the people, and who of necessity are

obliged to see things through the eyes of the presiding elders, cannot be accepted as fairly representing the kind and degree of superintendence presupposed by our system. By refusing them "episcopal authority on the spot," therefore, we do both ourselves and them a wrong. We deprive them of what is really indispensable to the vigorous growth and deep rooting of Episcopal Methodism; namely, the presence and superintendence of bishops living in their territories and becoming to them what Asbury was to American Methodism.

To give the Liberia Mission that "episcopal authority on the spot" which it needed, the bishops, in 1856, suggested three methods: "First, for the General Conference to appoint a bishop and send him to organize them as the Methodist Episcopal Church of Africa; second, to let them organize themselves, elect their bishop, and send him to us for ordination; third, to appoint a missionary bishop to take charge of that work, we retaining jurisdiction over it." To these alternative methods, which, though three in form were but two in substance, they added an expression of their hope that in either case "the missionary dividend will be continued to them as long as they need and properly use it."

As is well known, the Conference adopted the third method, and submitted an amendment of the constitutive rule to the Annual Conferences, with which they concurred. A "missionary bishop" was subsequently ordained and sent to Africa. After his death a second such bishop was elected; and our heroic Dr. Taylor is working there to-day under the rule authorizing the election of a bishop with jurisdiction limited to the field he is chosen to occupy.

The noticeable feature of this episcopal suggestion is the breadth of its statesmanship. There is no sign in it of that narrow sentimentalism which is the apparent source of a desire existing in many minds to build up what is illogically termed an "Ecumenical Methodist Episcopal Church." Such a church is practically impossible, since peoples so differently conditioned as those of Africa, Europe, and Asia cannot be made sufficiently homogeneous to be welded into the solidarity necessary to ecclesiastical unity with our Church in America. Our bishops evidently felt this in 1856. Hence they deliberately recommended two plans for giving autonomy to Liberia. By doing this they clearly recognized the fact that the development of Church life should proceed, not from without, but from within; not from connection with a distant central body, but from a local, self-centered, self-governed organization. Hence their preference apparently was to have the General Conference initiate a measure that should lead to the creation of an independent Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa. They were not alarmed by the cry of "Vivisection!" which some alarmists raise against such creations. And to encourage the Liberians to throw aside their swaddling clothes and array themselves in the toga of ecclesiastical manhood, they desired the General Conference to provide such pecuniary aid as might be necessary to supplement their own power of self-support. This was genuine apostolic ecclesiastical statesmanship. It is regretted by many that the Conference did not appreciate

it, but preferred the alternative of a "missionary bishop," that is, of a diocesan episcopacy, which is a solecism in our system, and which, up to the date of Bishop Taylor's election, was far from yielding satisfactory results. And since Bishop Taylor is trying a grand experiment after a fashion of his own, his success or failure will determine nothing concerning the value of a missionary bishop as the instrument for developing our foreign missions into powerful, self-supporting, self-governing churches by ordinary missionary methods.

What, then, will the General Conference do with the indisputable fact that not one mission only, but all our large missions, are to-day in urgent need of "episcopal authority on the spot?" The genius of our system requires that this great, growing need should be met, not evasively, but fairly and fully. As stated above, the present method of occasional visitations by our general superintendents does not and cannot do this. This we take to be a fact too obvious to be intelligently denied. It would, indeed, be paying a sorry compliment to our episcopal theory to affirm the contrary. What then? Will the proposed plan of fixing "episcopal residences" within the missions, and requiring the bishops appointed to them to meet, at least in appearance, their obligations as *general* superintendents, by making flying visits to the home Conferences, satisfy this great need? Probably not. It would certainly place a heavy, not to say an oppressive, burden on some of the bishops and their families. It would also consume much of their time in removing with their "household gods" to a foreign land, in traversing the ocean again and again on their visits to and from the home Conferences, and in attending the General Conference at the end of each quadrennium. In fact, residence thus broken in upon could scarcely be sufficiently continuous to supply that "episcopal authority on the spot" which is so imperatively demanded. And it could not be made effectively continuous without violating both the spirit and the letter of the rule which makes it the duty of a *general* superintendent to *travel at large through the Connection*. Moreover, a bishop with his energies so widely diffused, and with his interests so divided, could not give to a great and growing mission that concentrated thought and that enthusiastic and exclusive devotion to its affairs which are required for its broadest and strongest possible development.

Supposing, therefore, that this plan will not obtain, the question of appointing a missionary bishop for each of our larger missions will have to be considered by the General Conference. That such bishops would more nearly meet their pressing needs than either our present method or the appointment of "resident bishops," so called, will not probably be very warmly disputed. It would, unquestionably, give them "episcopal authority on the spot." And if such bishops were sent out empowered, as the bishops suggested in 1856, to organize "the Methodist Episcopal Church" of each nationality, it would completely meet their wants. But to the plan of electing more missionary bishops, with "the General Conference retaining jurisdiction" over their respective territories, objections of greater or less weight will probably be urged.

1. The "missionary bishop" is an anomaly in our system. He is a diocesan and not a *general* superintendent. Instead of being a bishop at large he is a bishop restrained to a limited portion of the Connection; and, therefore, viewed in relation to the Connection, a diocesan bishop. His creation in 1856 was a departure from that type of episcopacy established by our Church fathers, and still regarded by very many of our best thinkers as essential to the maintenance of an itinerant ministry. But for the sickliness of the Liberian climate and the then existing prejudice against color, which looked askance at the bare suggestion of admitting a *colored* man into the number of our *general* superintendents, he would not have been called into being. Yet he now, wisely or unwisely, has a place in our system, and may be lawfully elected and sent into as many missions as the General Conference may determine. Nevertheless, in view of his being a representative, not of our general but of a diocesan superintendency, may it not be well for our legislators to inquire, whether his introduction into our foreign missions may not give such sanction to the principle of a diocesan episcopacy as may lead them to reject, altogether, our system of general superintendency when they become independent of our jurisdiction, as they must in the near future? This might or might not be a serious evil; but with our experience of the beneficent working of our policy, is it wise to put an opposite principle into their ecclesiasticism while it is as yet in its formative period? Principles are not playthings, but molding forces, and should never be applied to grave facts without due consideration of all their probable and possible results.

2. The multiplication of missionary bishops would be practically a partial nullification of the principle of our "itinerant general superintendency," in that it would prevent our *general* superintendents from traveling "through the Connection at large." Every mission placed under the jurisdiction of a missionary bishop, being as veritably a part of the "Connection" as any Conference in the United States, limits the jurisdiction of the general superintendents to the remaining portion of the "Connection." One has but to suppose all our large missions under the jurisdiction of missionary bishops to see that there would then be a wider extent of territory under their exclusive administration than would remain under the administration of the general superintendents. Thus, with respect to the whole Connection the latter would have only a limited jurisdiction, and would, though still called *general*, be in this respect *diocesan* superintendents. It is true that this limitation is implied and provided for by the rule as amended in 1856. But is not that rule itself an anomaly?

Yet its anomalous character is not wholly in itself, but arises out of the action of the General Conference whereby it retained its jurisdiction over the territory of a missionary bishop. If in electing a missionary bishop that body would give him discretionary authority, as suggested by the bishops in 1856, to organize his mission into a Methodist Episcopal Church of the country in which it is situated, the rule would be consistent with itself. His "mission" would then soon cease to be part of the Connection, and the general superintendents relieved of their constitu-

tional and official obligation to travel within it. Instead of remaining dependent on the General Conference for its discipline, it would rise at once to the dignity and independence of a self-governed Church, such as the apostles were accustomed to organize in every place as soon as a small band of believers accepted the truth. Most of those primitive believers were "the poor of this world." Among them were "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble." History teaches that slaves, freedmen, and "the weak things of this world" were the main constituents of the churches which the apostles, instead of keeping under the jurisdiction of the Church at Jerusalem, or of any other metropolitan Church, formed at once into independent bodies governed by elders taken from among themselves. Faith in the divinity of the truth and in the power of the Holy Spirit to preserve its recipients was the basis of their confidence in the capacity of their converts to govern themselves. Why, then, our legislators may wisely ask, should the Methodist Episcopal Church hesitate to give her foreign missions, at the earliest possible and fitting opportunity, the power to govern themselves under the guidance of a bishop ordained by her episcopacy for that end? As her children, such Churches would be bound to her by the strong tie of filial love. And, if still aided, as the bishops recommended in 1856, by gifts of money, would they not become her most economical and efficient instruments for the further diffusion of the Gospel throughout their respective territories? For it must not be forgotten that no nation can ever be evangelized by missionaries only. Native converts, native preachers, native church officers, must complete the work begun by the missionary from another land, or it will not be done at all.

The wisdom of the bishops of 1856, in recommending continuance of missionary dividends from the mother Church to her daughters, should not be lightly esteemed or forgotten. Missions and missionaries, like children reared in habits of dependence, naturally shrink from entering upon independent church life, not because they doubt either the intrinsic fitness or necessity of such independence, but because they dread to face the duties of a self-reliant, self-centered organization. Give them assurance that, to cite the words of the bishops again, "the missionary dividend will be continued to them *as long as they need and properly use it*," and probably most of them would ask as earnestly for an independent church life as they now dread to accept it. Our Japanese converts, without waiting for such positive assurance, are so resolved on being self-governed that the coming Conference will be forced to face the alternative of granting their desire or surrendering our promising prospects of usefulness among them to the other evangelical missions, which are already working on that basis. To give them a "missionary bishop," with authority to organize them into the Methodist Episcopal Church of Japan, would, therefore, appear to be the most judicious mode of securing the permanence of Methodism among that interesting people. And would not the General Conference do well to seriously consider whether the time has or has not come for the election of missionary bishops for

our other large missions, invested with similar provisional authority to organize them into Methodist Episcopal Churches of their respective nationalities?

The anomalous personal position of a missionary bishop will be somewhat awkwardly manifest in the coming General Conference. Being answerable for his administration to that venerable body, the only incumbent of this office will very properly appear there to give an account of his stewardship. Yet, though he is, by election and ordination, a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he cannot appear before it as the peer of his fellow-bishops. By the terms of the law authorizing his election, his episcopal jurisdiction is limited to his mission. He cannot, therefore, rightly claim the prerogatives or exercise the functions of his office in this country or elsewhere outside of his prescribed diocese. He cannot preside in the Conference, as our other bishops do, because its constitution provides that "one of the general superintendents shall preside in the General Conference," and he is not a general superintendent. Neither can he become a general superintendent except by a regular election and ordination. But should he be elected a general superintendent he would thereby cease to be a missionary bishop, and be deprived of his exclusive administrative jurisdiction in what has been his mission or diocese. Hence, as a missionary bishop, he stands apart, an officer *sui generis*, representing not the normal general superintendency of our ecclesiastical system, but what is to us the abnormal principle of a diocesan episcopacy. Standing, as a missionary bishop must, in this anomalous relation to our ecclesiastical system, the General Conference will need to gravely consider the wisdom or unwisdom of adding to the number, except, as already remarked, for the purpose of providing provisionally for the organization of foreign missions into self-governing Methodist Episcopal Churches. And the interests involved in coming to a decision of this latter question are so vast and far-reaching that it will demand the most unprejudiced, the most thoughtful, and the most prayerful consideration.

LONDON—ITS BENEVOLENT AND CHRISTIAN WORK.

"Sir, the happiness of London is not to be conceived but by those who have been in it. I will venture to say there is more learning and science within the circumference of ten miles from where we sit than in all the rest of the kingdom." This oracular declaration was made by Dr. Johnson to Boswell in the old Mitre Tavern, near Temple Bar. A congenial spirit adds, that thousands before and since have felt the same cat-like attachment to the vast town of multitudinous life and ever-changing aspects. The historian Macaulay, in love of the curious and time-marked, explored its ten thousand streets. Dickens studied its varied and teeming characters for immortal fiction. The genial Charles Lamb writes, "I have passed all my days in London, until I have formed as many and as

intense local attachments as the mountaineer to dead nature. The wonder of sights impels me into night-walks about her crowded streets, and I often shed tears in the motley Strand from fullness of joy at so much life." And Milton, who frequently changed his home, and who thoroughly knew the town, exclaims:

> "O city founded by Dardanian hands,
> Whose towering front the circling realms commands!
> Too blest abode! no loveliness we see
> In all the earth, but it abounds in thee."

While Shakespeare adds:

> "I pray you, let us satisfy our eyes
> With the memorials, and the things of fame,
> That do renown this city."

Volumes of testimony bespeak its praise, but the half has ne'er been told. This "renown" is the heritage of time. Geoffrey of Monmouth affirms that Brute "builded this citie" about B. C. 1008. Subsequently King Lud is said to have encircled it with walls and adorned it "with fayre buildings and towers." The remains found prove without doubt the existence of a British city anterior to Roman occupation. Tacitus describes it as the "great mart of trade and commerce and the chief residence of merchants in A. D. 61, and in the time of Severus, A. D. 193–211, as illustrious for the vast number of merchants who resorted to it, for its extensive commerce, and for the abundance of every kind of commodity which it could supply." London became a walled city in the fourth century. Saxon and Dane contributed to its early history. St. Paul's Cathedral and the name of Alderman, *older-man*, are the monuments of the former. Through the ages and dynasties, and under the dominion of various races, ever growing. Elizabeth vainly essayed to check its progress—a repetition of the Dame Partington and ocean contest. Onward it spread, in plague and fire, through the reigns of the Plantagenets, the Stuarts, William III. and Anne and the Georges, westward the course of city-empire rapidly taking its way, fabulously enriching lords and earls and dukes, owners of contiguous lands, eastward, northward, southward, until London has become a world within a world, and its untraveled denizens may well be pardoned for their incredulity in regard to any world without and beyond. "He who is tired of London is tired of existence." Hence, perhaps, the many suicides in the yellow Thames, London's chiefest highway, source of its highest prosperity, even of its very existence. The fond Londoner boasts of the surpassing picturesqueness of his native city beyond that of other European capitals, and descants on the æsthetic beauty of its sky and clouds and fogs—to what length will not blind fondness go!—a beauty, the stranger is compelled to add, all hidden from him not London-born. To the prosaic, outer barbarian, purblind to its æsthetic qualities, the characteristic fog appears as to Hawthorne, "More like a distillation of mud than any thing else; the ghost of mud, the spiritualized medium of departed mud, through which the dead citizens of London probably tread in the Hades whither they are translated."

What vast interests cluster around this center of the grandest empire the world has ever seen! Here is the making of history and its makers. Here are the subduers of kingdoms; victors who do not destroy, but upbuild and beautify, opening a highway, as in her latest Burmah conquest, for on-going civilization and beneficent Christianity. In the cycle of years what momentous events have transpired in the ancient metropolis!—revolution and reformation; martyrdom and seed-planting; moral reform and intellectual development; progress and discovery; while the very air is redolent with myriad names known to fame, *ours* and theirs, in the varied walks of learning. Classic as well as historic is the five-millioned city; a world-Mecca for lovers of the great and good. The nomenclature of its streets, unlike the prosaic-numerical of New York and the Forestry of Philadelphia, revives the memory of men and deeds, and makes the very pavement sacred ground.

Philanthropies of London.

Charity reigns queen of the graces. Benevolent and Christian work is the distinctive glory of the metropolitan city. Volumes would be required to catalogue its charities. So much of recent publication has revealed the dark side that sketches of the bright side of London are quite timely. If it be, *par excellence*, the world's metropolis, the emporium of trade, commerce, and monetary influence, its charities are not in disproportion to its political and financial power. Wide-reaching are the results of its philanthropic endeavor. It would be an instructive study, how far civilization and good government have been spread abroad by the Briton. Much more of interest would be the inquiry, to what degree the humanitarian influence of the little island has leavened the whole lump of world society. It has been declared that there is scarcely one of the great mother-establishments on the continent which does not directly or indirectly trace its origin from beyond the Channel. The charities of Germany alone may be counted by hundreds, the inspiration, and largely the material help of which have come from warm English hearts. British sympathy and British example have kindled the flame of brother-love throughout continental Europe. The thousands of London charities send throbs of kindly feeling and generous impulse to the ends of the earth. They are of different classifications. Under the provision for general welfare there are the institutions for the permanently afflicted, fifty-seven in number, including, in tender compassion, the blind, deaf and dumb, incurables, idiots, imbeciles, and lunatics. The foundations of some of these houses were laid in the seventeenth and even in the sixteenth centuries; many of them are amply supported, extending their beneficent helpfulness to every class and condition. Hospitals are general and special. Those of the former class, in accommodation for patients and in income, are unequaled in the world. The oldest was founded in 1102, refounded, rebuilt, and enlarged from century to century. In-patients are received, five thousand, six thousand, and as many as eight thousand in a single institution; while out patients will number sixty thousand, seventy thou-

sand, and as high as one hundred and sixty thousand in an individual case. Many hundreds of thousands share in these benefactions annually. To the poor the ministry of healing is given. Additional hospitals for special diseases, well-nigh a hundred in number, of manifold character, are scattered over the entire city—proof and illustration of England's Christianity. Tender appeal is made to the heart, warm emotion of gratitude is enkindled as one sees, side by side of the abode of the humblest, temples of mercy that reflect the love of the all-loving Father.

Fervent enthusiasm is stirred in their behalf. There is not only Hospital Sunday, but Hospital Saturday, when the city is moved in this interest. Godly women devoting themselves to reception of money are numerous and assiduous. Cabmen carry placards and display festive pennants, aiding in the glad work. Picturesque processions emphasize advertisement. "Ladies nursed in pomp and pleasure" sit at street corners to solicit aid, while "Sisters of the Poor" go about doing good. Artisans assist in the collection at factories, warehouses, workshops, and all places of congregation. It is Benevolence Day, permeating and gladdening universal society. It softens the asperities of work and worry, and gently harmonizes human nature. It is a custom worthy of general adoption. The occasion is a ministry of blessing. Not in church or chapel do the separated classes meet, "but in a temple of pity roofed by the blue sky, with altars at city corners, and ministering angels who console when pain and sickness wring the brow." As these beneficent institutions exist for the people, the people rally to their support. Gratitude is inculcated, brotherly love is deepened, and the interest spreads on every hand. In the temples of healing science, monuments of ancient beneficence and modern pity, the supreme skill of the medical profession is devoted to the pauper as though he were a prince, and the doors are freely open to all. From prince to peasant, from sovereigns to farthings, the grateful gifts meet on festive Hospital Day.

Although at this time of greatly accumulated wealth munificent benefactions from millionaires are not bestowed—no English Peabody rising to take the place of our generous countryman whose name is ever fragrant in the great metropolis; no Thomas Sutton repeating the Charter-house bequest; no Thomas Guy alone building a spacious hospital—yet the field of benevolence is enlarged, the number of givers multiplied, and that class nine tenths of whom form the subjects are lifted up from the character of pauper and dependent to proud shareholders and patrons of the nation's great gift.

The Londoner is not altogether purse-proud, hard, exclusive, and self-seeking. Nowhere on the round globe is more done for unfortunate humanity. The mind wearies with a simple category of homes of remembrance. The enumeration would severely try the patience of the reader. We commenced with the purpose of exhausting the list; but the list is exhaustless. On and on, wider and wider, rolls the tide of benevolence. The supply seeks to keep pace with the rapidly multiplying demands. General description must suffice. Sixty-eight dispensaries and sixty char-

ities for convalescents alone, in the city or by the sea-side, supplement the hospitals.

The blessed teaching of Christianity, and a new departure in the world's history, is the care of the aged and little ones. Societies to relieve needy and worthy aged men and women by annual pensions and annuities only are seventy-six in number. They run through the centuries—back to 1577 and 1453. There are several in the eighteenth century, culminating in Queen Anne's bounty of 1704, with annual income of $650,000, to augment the poor livings of clergymen. Thrilling memories are revived by the "Indian Mutiny Relief Fund," dating from 1857, granting pensions to the three hundred surviving widows and orphans of those who lost their lives during the Indian mutiny. The British heart beats ever warmly toward the sorely smitten. Tenderness, discrimination, as well as generosity, are revealed in these many helpful agencies. Thousands and tens of thousands share in this beautiful charity. Unforgotten by the Father-God, they are kindly remembered by brother-man.

Homes for the aged poor, with pensions superadded, amount to eighty-two in addition. This entire enumeration is exclusive of the unheralded beneficence and countless private homes that are beyond the reach of computation. The earliest recollection of the writer, of the late lamented Earl of Shaftesbury, a quarter of a century ago, was that of seeing the truly noble lord presiding at a public meeting in the interest of indigent aged females. The words spoken by him have never been forgotten, revealing a sacred, Christly tenderness that characterizes many English hearts to-day.

The Universal Father legislated for the widow and the fatherless. London charities for orphans, making mention simply of the chief and foremost, are fifty-six. The most modern are among the largest, marking an increase of the spirit of benevolence. The Stockwell Orphanage of Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, founded in 1867, houses and educates five hundred annually, irrespective of creed or class. That of Dr. Barnardo rescues, shelters, and trains more than twice that number. There is the agency of Dr. Stephenson of the Wesleyan communion, with others besides, doing a grand work for the children, to which limited space forbids detailed reference. The Royal Military Asylum, contemporaneous with the century, provides a home and education for six hundred sons of British soldiers. There are also several reformatories and preventive charities in the interest of the young, and ninety voluntary homes and refuges chiefly in their behalf. The present unparalleled and intense feeling, constantly deepening and widening, covering the whole country, in the interest of endangered girls, bespeaks the thought and care and determination of Christian men and women respecting sacred, pleading childhood. British blood is fired, and British pluck, never braver nor in holier cause, distinguishes the heroes and heroines of the protection movement; and stirred English conscience has framed laws to defend the defenseless. Public opinion enforces the enactments, and fiends are whipped of justice. The inspiration of a measure that reaches the extremities of the empire comes from the palpitating heart of the metropolis.

Benevolent institutions for relief of distress constitute a special class. They are upward of a hundred, and extend to every condition and every age. An instance of want can scarcely be imagined which the thoughtfulness of this agency does not meet. A ministry of blessing, it is constantly in operation to assuage the sorrow and lighten the burdens of unfortunate lives.

Missions for the fallen and for discharged prisoners are established at many points, and are prosecuted, by day and by night, with ceaseless love and tireless devotion. Many are the trophies won, rescued to society and to God. During the last year, of 18,000 discharged prisoners from three jails, 14,000 received aid and several thousands gave evidence of reformation. Ready hands and willing hearts give glad heed to the divine message: Seek and save the lost.

Educational charities abound. In some cases a single institution houses and thoroughly equips one thousand youth. Training is given for different callings and professions. Under this division is included "Countess of Huntingdon's College," established in 1768, which still continues in active operation, and educates young men for the ministry of every evangelical Christian denomination. There is also the Wesleyan Westminster Training College, under the efficient supervision of Dr. J. H. Rigg, to train teachers for the public elementary day-schools, with an annual income of $40,000. Besides many other unclassified and miscellaneous charities there are those of protection and prevention, both for man and beast. Women and children share especially in these benevolences; and the circulation of obscene and licentious literature is restrained.

The opening of parks and commons and gardens for the people at large partakes of the nature of a wise and practical philanthropy. Existing on so large a scale, and rapidly increasing in number, they evince deepening kindly interest in the welfare of the working classes. Ragged schools, pets of Lord Shaftesbury, their father and their protector unto the end, thrive and multiply. Hundreds of thousands attribute their salvation for time and eternity to their instrumentality.

The list of benevolent and Christian agencies of London would be incomplete without a reference to the Young Men's Christian Association. It holds an exceptionally prominent position and great vantage ground by reason of its being so happily housed. It possesses historic Exeter Hall, whose very walls are eloquent with pleas for reform and progress in Church and State. Added to the prestige of the name is its most fortunate and central situation in the busy Strand. Its varied agencies are well-nigh innumerable. Branches in different parts of the city, and Young Women's Christian Associations as well, enlarge the sphere of beneficent operation.

The shame of London is heralded abroad. Its glory has never been and never can be written. The "bitter cry" goes forth, the quick response is unheard. One is oppressed in seeking to keep pace with the anniversaries of established benevolences and the foundation of the new. Eminent names in the commercial and political world are united to those of title and rank in the one common end. Christian benevolence and Chris-

tian work have become the fashion in London, a fashion one would gladly see not become obsolete. The high-born achieve new distinction by thoughtful care of the lowly and the suffering. The example and influence of the late Earl of Shaftesbury are not lost. The honor that came to him in life, the more than royal homage in death, kindles emulation. Christianity not only, but chivalry, is enlisted in humanity's cause.

During the preparation of this paper the writer receives cards for the one hundredth annual meeting of the "Benevolent or Strangers' Friend Society," for visiting and relieving the sick poor at their own homes by an unpaid agency, consisting of over *two hundred and eighty* Christian visitors. The meeting is held at the Mansion House, the official residence of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, his lordship presiding, assisted by sheriffs, aldermen, distinguished barristers, clergymen, and officials, under the patronage of a Christian nobleman, Lord Ebury, revealing the twofold fact that there is a multitude of voluntary workers among the needy, and that the foremost citizens of the city give their countenance and active co-operation. Those who enter upon this work "at their own charges" are counted by thousands. G. D.

THE NEW THEOLOGY.

The present status of the New Theology in the Congregational churches affords an interesting study. For a time, under the lead of Newman and Egbert C. Smyth, T. T. Munger, and others, the new statements seemed likely to rapidly possess the field. Founding and sustaining the able *Andover Review*, the vigorous group brought a vast amount of learning and ability to the propagation of the new teachings. Moving also, while ethically elevated, toward views of inspiration and Christology not very different from those which have obtained among Unitarians, it promised to create a schism almost equal in extent to that which separated New England Congregationalism into Unitarian and Orthodox societies. The pastoral strength of the movement is in Connecticut, which remained loyal to Trinitarianism in the time of the former controversy.

But now Massachusetts, so sorely rent in the former days, is the stronghold, with the West, of the old faith, while Connecticut furnishes, as has been said, the chief pastoral champions of the proposed changes. Equally sturdy opponents of the new order are also in some of her chief churches.

The recent vote in the Springfield meeting of the American Board proves that the new teachings have less popular following than was supposed. The support given the management of the board, in respect of its right to test the orthodoxy of candidates for missionary work, was almost overwhelming; and, while all parties counsel forbearance, it is evident that the new departure has found great obstacles in its path, if it has not met its Waterloo. The financial effect of the controversy cannot be

determined until the receipts of the board for the year are known. The indications are not, so far as they appear, unfriendly to the board in any marked degree.

But that which is most interesting to Methodists is the fact that these controversies are all the outcome of the theology which has never yet been defended successfully at the bar of the Christian reason. To preach the Calvinistic faith to the heathen is to hopelessly drive the thoughtful among them back into their ancestral faith, as less unworthy of themselves and God. Christianity can only win by demonstrating the love of God to all men, and by declaring that God can never punish his children for what they cannot help. Wesley himself is on record as hoping for the salvation of the sincere and devout heathen. And the vision of Peter and his comment on Cornelius are weighty in the same direction. If explained philosophically, the view of many would be that the devout among the heathen attain, through the Holy Spirit, some conception of the essential Christ which may be compared to that of an ignorant Christian. The influence of Calvinism remains as an obstructive force long after it has ceased to possess propagative power. It has left behind it an inheritance of controversy which must abide until the Christian world recognizes that God is, and always has been, the Father of the spirits of all men, and that the Judge of all the earth will do right; and as to the lost in all nations, its verdict must be that the extinction of the divine likeness by persistent sin creates the barrier between the lost and the saved.

It is noticeable that the future probation propaganda is less active than formerly, if the periodicals and the book-lists are a guide. The orthodox views have found able defenders, and would seem to be gaining on the newer teaching. This has had great advantage in the rhetorical skill, ethical elevation, and poetic phraseology of its chief advocates, and in its appeal to the sympathies of those who would prefer not to see the severer side of the divine administration.

It seems to be practically settled that as a "working" doctrine future probation is dangerous to earnestness of appeal, and therefore to aggressive evangelical labors. The distinction drawn between the heathen abroad and at home as to fair probation is a difficult and delicate one; and it is no small implication of the divine government that any one should be thought to be under an unfair and incomplete probation.

Happily, while this subject has received from our own ministry the attention an important controversy always attracts, it has not commanded sufficient assent anywhere among us to become a disturbing force. A theology which offers salvation to all, and redemption for all mankind, need not burden itself with anxieties for improvement. The great question of the future condition of the impenitent and ignorant may safely be left to scriptural statement in the pulpit and to confidence in the divine rectitude in our hearts. The world needs all the stimuli to immediate repentance which can be found in reason or revealed truth. It is noteworthy that some advocates of the New Theology admit that it is

extra-biblical, that it is an outgrowth of the Christian consciousness. But this is setting up a variable and personal standard for truth, and leaves mankind without that steady guide which the Church has followed in the written word. The decay of faith in the Bible, and especially in the New Testament, would leave the world to such moral rule as is found, if any there be, in the evolution of social order, which is but another way of saying that it leaves the world to the law of expediency. This, of course, affords necessarily a shifting basis for conduct, and prepares the way for the dissolution of society. It may be that the perception of this truth has somewhat sobered those who, fascinated with the novelty of the New Theology, were among its early students, if not adherents.

D.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

DENMARK seems to grow in activity in regard to moral and religious questions of special public interest. A general religious convocation was recently held in Copenhagen, attended by fifteen hundred clergymen and laymen, of various religious tendencies, from the entire land. The first and main subject of discussion was that of religious instruction in the schools. A strong and solid testimony was presented against the schools without religious training.

The second day of the conference was devoted to the subject of "Sabbath rest." Provost Rördam opened the discussion with a peculiar and curious presentation of the origin of "Sunday," in which he emphasized the point that the Sabbath of the Lord was appointed especially for Israel by the fourth commandment, and was given as a day of rest and revivification, but not as a day especially devoted to divine service, as the Pharisees taught at a later period. The Sabbath, properly so called, was never imposed on the Gentile Christians; what the Sunday has become to Christians, through the growth of Christian life, is something very different from the Sabbath, and neither has any thing to do with the other. After Christianity had become the religion of the State, ordinances appeared concerning the observance of the Christian holy days; but these were proclaimed by civil rulers, and without any connection with the fourth commandment. The speaker therefore maintained that the Sabbath and the Christian Sunday are two very different things.

The Reformers regarded the sacred observance of the Sunday as a wise church custom, which should also be observed from temporal aspects. The speaker also called attention to the fact that in England the Sunday is wrongly called Sabbath, and in contradiction to the teaching of the apostles, and declared that where Sunday has come to be specially regarded as the day of the Lord it has occurred solely because for so many centuries the service of God has been held on that day. These bold expressions met with much opposition; and the well-known leader of the

revival mission, Pastor Beck, declared it to be frivolous thus to rob the Sunday of its divine character, because thereby the support would be taken from under the Christian's feet. He affirmed that Christ had ratified the law of Moses, in consequence of which the sacred observance of the Sunday rests on divine command.

"THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL" commanded much attention at said convocation. A prominent theologian, in an excellent address, styled the question *a burning one*, because orthodox Judaism is being crowded into the background, while free-thinking doctrines are making much headway among the Jews. In his view the people of Israel have a great task to perform, because the kingdom of God cannot be complete until the conversion of said people. This event is to be a link in the development of our Church, and the Christian Church will then be the scene of a great revival from death to life. In the theological world of this age a marked change has taken place in the understanding and conception of the biblical assertions regarding the Jews. In place of hatred toward them, great expectations have arisen whose fulfillment bears a close relation to the conversion of Israel. The Antichrist will not be a Jew, but rather an apostate Christian, as is to be inferred from a proper interpretation of the passages of Scripture relating to this subject. And because the promised victory of the Christian world depends on the return of Israel, therefore there is the most imperative demand that men prosecute Jewish mission work.

The discussion of the oath was very animated, and the necessity of a form of affirmation for free-thinkers, as in England and America, was generally conceded. The entire abolition of the oath for Christians, also, would greatly endanger the security of the law. But many of the clergy and the laity favored the entire abolition of the oath, while a prominent jurist declared that if a simple affirmation were enough for men of no Christian faith it were certainly so for professing Christians.

The remainder of the period allotted to the convocation was devoted to the work of midnight missions, of which one is established in Stockholm and Christiania, as well as in the capital. The leaders of this work addressed meetings, for men only, on two successive evenings, and from the discussions induced it was resolved to send an address to the government and the parliament, asking for the abolition of licensed prostitution and legal interference against obscene literature. All of these discussions showed great zeal and much forbearance with contrary opinions, so that the concluding address by Pastor Beck confidently declared the Conference of great utility to the Danish Church at large, in bringing the people nearer together in the work of opposing the common enemy.

THE PRUSSIAN SCHOOLS have been surprised and excited at the revival of an old ordinance of 1844 on the part of the Minister of Public Worship, in the interest of evangelical instruction in all the institutions of learning. During the past two decades there has been so much agitation in all the schools, and especially in those likely to be reached by the school laws

of May, mainly intended to affect the Catholic schools, but often oppressing those of the Protestants, that many regulations have been neglected, and those in regard to religious instruction have been tampered with.

The Minister of Public Worship now issues a call for more attention in the selection of teachers, expressing the desire that such instruction be confided not only to men who are well educated in this line, but who are also endowed with the qualities of mind calculated to impart religious teaching to youth with success. Such men must also be filled with faith in the general tenets of the Gospel, that they may awaken in their pupils a Christian feeling and purpose.

It may be clearly assumed that a revival of these old ordinances is the result of experience in the past neglect of this vital subject. A great many complaints have of late reached the authorities from fathers whose sons have received a kind of religious training that weakened rather than strengthened their faith. Therefore it will be a great gratification to many parents to know that the highest school authorities are having a watchful eye for these important interests. The whole question of clerical oversight of secular instruction is one of great difficulty. It is, above all, necessary to secure religious teachers whose spirit and life are a sufficient guaranty that they will nourish and strengthen the faith of their pupils rather than their unbelief. The philologists of the day are apt to look with depreciation on every theology that does not with the same energy as they pursue historical sources with captious criticism. And thus it is desirable for the Church and the higher schools to have institutions where candidates of theology might well prepare themselves for the work. This would be more easy to do now than formerly, from the gratifying increase in the number applying for religious orders.

AGAINST THE JESUITS there seems in Germany to be a great revival of the evangelical consciousness of the nation, as shown in unusual testimonials of zeal regarding them; and this anxiety is certainly justified by the signs of the times. Of two new movements we have now announcement, that seem to be greeted with unusual pleasure; the first bears the title, "The Morality of the Jesuits Depicted by a Good Catholic" (Blaise Pascal), which is published in Leipsic. Therein is an excellent translation of five of the celebrated *Provincial Letters of Pascal*, of which the translator says in the preface: "Their condemnation of the Jesuits is of greater weight than a whole library of Protestant controversy."

The second book is entitled, *The Secret Precepts and Thirty-one Instructions for Novices, by and for the Jesuits.* This is announced as a revival for the warning of the German nation. The unscrupulous training of the Jesuits, as laid down in these *precepts*, develops fully the dangerous character of the order to society and the nation, and a light is cast on this that cannot fail to produce an effect. The author fears an early effort to bring back the expelled members of this order, and therefore this cry of warning. That the open endeavor to restore these enemies of the nation and the other so-called "congregations" will soon be made, there is lit-

tle doubt; and if the Protestants are forewarned they are forearmed. The principles of the Jesuits are surely those of German Catholicism, and the evangelical portion of the nation has every cause to be alarmed at the movements of these its arch enemies.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF GERMANY are nearly all in a very prosperous state. Their last general report gave an attendance of nearly 30,000 students, and showed an increase of 700 over the previous semester. The Protestant faculties reported about 5,000 students, an increase of 250 over the previous semester. The best patronized Catholic theological faculty is that of Münster, having 344 students. The law students numbered about 6,000, with quite an increase, while the faculty of medicine made but small increase, which is attributable to the fact that the medical society has announced that their ranks are more than full now—thus warning young men to seek some other profession.

For the last few years the University of Berlin has led in point of numbers; its report now gives 4,654 in attendance. Munich follows with 3,367, Leipzig with 3,054, and Halle with 1,529. Leipzig led in numbers in the years 1870, 1880; then Berlin took the lead, and now Munich is hastening to the front. Some of the smaller schools are greatly increasing their rolls. For the first time Marburg now runs over 1,000. Some of the universities have more foreigners than natives; in Munich more than half are from outside States. The German universities have now matriculated about 1,500 non-German students, and of these Heidelberg reaches the highest per centum. They stand in the following order: Russians, Austrians, and Swiss; there are also a goodly number of Americans, and some Japanese. Berlin has the largest number of theological students—about 700; then follows Halle, with 600; Greifswald, with 383; Göttingen, with 255. The large increase of theological students is very gratifying.

THE THEOLOGICAL CONSISTORIES OF GERMANY are waking up to the fact that the preparation of young ministers needs to be of a much more practical character to suit the wants and tendencies of the age. To this end there was lately held in Eisenach a conference of church authorities at which an extended report on the subject was made by Dr. Uhlhorn, whose theme was, "The Practical Preparation of Candidates of Theology for the Pastorate and the Control of Elementary Schools." There are now in Germany many institutions for the purpose, known as associations for candidates, theological seminaries, vicariates, etc. There are seminaries in Heidelberg, Herborn, and Freidberg, which bridge over the transition from the university to the candidature. Sometimes this is done by regular theological schools, as in Leipzig, Wittenberg, Berlin, etc.

The desire among the German theologians now seems to be for an interim of two years between the departure from the university and the entrance into the seminary, and that during this period the candidates should be in some active work. A very acceptable occupation for such persons in Germany is that of tutor in private families. But the element-

ary schools and the home mission work both form a very useful field for this practical training. The kind of special practice is left free to each candidate, that he may choose that for which he feels himself best adapted. A special stress, however, is laid on that of the inspection of the schools, as the preacher is often the only man in the rural parishes who may have an intelligent conception of the needs in this direction. In Prussia this training would be given in the normal schools in a course of six weeks.

Old Catholicism in Germany and Switzerland seems to be going from bad to worse. But few of the original leaders have remained with it. Döllinger was among the first to abandon it, and now those at the front seem to be in a continual conflict with each other. Dr. Ricks, of Heidelberg, was suspended by the bishop for insubordination in his utterances in the columns of a journal under his direction. But this punishment only made the matter worse, for the Doctor then came out with a defense that was no credit to either side.

In said defense one wades through a mass of intrigue, contradictions, and scandal of the impurest sort, which leaves behind it a feeling of disgust for the whole business. It now clearly appears that from the beginning this movement bore in its vitals the seeds of death; it was neither one faith nor the other in regard to the churches at large, nor was it settled fairly in the Catholic ranks between Tridentinism and Vaticanism. The mere denial of the infallibility of the Papacy, without setting up some positive idea as a landmark, brought with it no order and no authority. The leaders spoke of emancipation, but the question was, From what? for there was soon established within its ranks a hierarchy as positive and unyielding as that from which they would escape. In this position of affairs it is very natural that Old Catholicism should wane in outer form, and within become an illusion. Within the ranks of its followers there is now, therefore, hopelessness and dissatisfaction; and consequently the Old Catholic pastors are resigning their position and drifting back to their former relations, or abandoning their career altogether.

The German Throne has become a very sacred place to the nation on account of the many piously fervid utterances that from its steps have gone forth to the people from the lips of the venerable emperor. And the last address to his nation, delivered on the occasion of the opening of the present session of parliament, seems to have surpassed all others in touching fervor for his people and pious reverence for the living God in whose hands he has placed his own faith so securely.

The marvelous power of a few words from the lips of this venerable man is acknowledged by all. After renewing his assurance of a firm reliance on God, and an unwavering trust on him for his family and his people, he declared that his highest aim was to secure peace for the German nation, and his most ardent desire that the present successor to the throne might be spared to live and rule in the fear of God and for the good of

humanity. While disclaiming all desire to draw the sword, he at the same time declared that Germany was ready and determined to defend itself in case of need from the *unchristian* tendency to hostile measures. These words so calmed the troubled waters that there was comparative rest, notwithstanding the rumors that ever fill the air. The German nation, in its present trials, seems to have one supreme wish that overshadows all rivalry and bitterness of partisanism; namely, that the life of the Crown Prince may be spared to the people for many years, and that their venerable chief may himself be able, as he departs, to lay his mantle on the shoulders of a son who, like him, confidently places his case in the hour of trial in the hands of a supreme God.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE is now the scene of a crisis of great severity on account of a recent decree of the Minister of Public Instruction in favor of undenominational schools. Radicalism in this line has been carried so far that it is now becoming quite difficult in some sections of the country to obtain for the children any religious instruction at all, and the situation is therefore quite alarming for the conservative element of the population.

All the questions of School and Church and State in the Austrian Empire are greatly complicated by the piebald nationality of the realm. The seven millions of Germans of Upper Austria are the ruling element in the State, which is a fact not at all agreeable to the twelve millions of Hungarians, the many Slavonic nationalities, and above all to the Czechs of Bohemia. These latter are always at war with the Germans, and are now engaged in the effort to divide the schools throughout Bohemia according to the nationality, so that the children of the Czechs shall not learn the language of the nation, but of their forefathers, which with great zeal and effort is being revived at this late period. The Czechs in social, civil, and ecclesiastical affairs are always in opposition to the Germans, and are now growing so strong that they are a threat and annoyance to the government, as they carry all their troubles and disaffection up to the highest power in the parliament and on the throne. Thus the monarch of Austria practically learns that the head that wears a crown is uneasy indeed. The ruler seems to be a man of good judgment and fair purposes, but he is condemned to spend his life between Scylla and Charybdis.

"LUTHER AND HIS TIMES" is the title of a popular spectacular play now being presented in the old town of Torgau, famous for its Luther memories. The style is rather that of the Oberammergau Passion Play, and the people seem rather inclined to accept it in the same way; that is, more for amusement than for study. It was first presented on the Sunday of the festival of the Reformation; but the thoughtless crowds that it drew by means of special trains did not add much dignity to the occasion. Curiosity and pleasure seem to have attracted the majority, and the old city, so true in the days of the Reformation, appeared to be celebrating some worldly event rather than "Reformation Day."

It is feared by the better element of the Lutheran Church that no very profitable impression will be made by the effort. The most of the spectators seemed to have come to enjoy the show and the beautiful costumes, as well as to see the get-up of some of the principal characters connected with Luther in life. Luther's Catharine, and all the characters of the play, were represented by inhabitants of Torgau, and were done with zeal and success. It was not a little for more than sixty performers, on a stage without any external decoration, to transport their audience into the significance of the situation. The background and the sides were draped simply with dark red cloth, and the scene of the action was indicated by the famous words "Wittenberg"—"Wartburg." The scene that was greeted with the greatest acclamation was "Luther with his family."

From France there comes just now an impressive wail of womanhood for protection against the flood of impurity that seems to pervade that land with increasing boldness and impunity Women are beset at every turn with floods of impure literature that would lead them directly to vice and the gutter. This repulsively filthy trash is put into the hands of girls and women in the streets, the stores, the market-places, and their homes. It is fairly forced on the children as they pass from the schools, and by them is brought to the family if not retained and read furtively. Young girls especially are the prey of these harpies, who waylay them at every point. This fearful crime is now so patent to the eyes of all Christian and moral people that they can no longer ignore it; and several Protestant conferences have of late called attention to the fact and suggested a means of carrying on a sacred crusade against it. A call has been issued to the women, and especially the mothers, of France to form a league for the protection of purity, which, in a certain sense, is to reach its end by political means. A thrilling address has been directed to the "Mothers of France" to join in a monster petition to the French Chambers with a view to legislation against this terrible outrage on society. The words of this document are so touching and significant that we can do no better than to give a portion of them to our readers:

Women of France, we appeal to you as *French* women and as Christians! Who among you has not been wounded to the heart by the moral condition of our beloved land, where current literature seems to have attained the limits of evil? But, alas! who knows its limits? it grows, it spreads, it multiplies as billow follows billow in the silence of the night. We know not whether this is greater in surface than in depth; but that of which we cannot be ignorant is the fact that our sons and daughters are now exposed to dangers hitherto unknown; for our children of tender age are accosted at the doors of the schools and colleges by the venders of infamous sheets, and we may now scarcely permit them to read even the catalogue of the bookseller.

This is the evil, but what is the remedy? Let us not fear to be women who will fight for their homes. Let us join in league for the combat as women and mothers. Our mission is an intestine war against the impure flood of current literature. How strong we should be were we openly the allies of God! Let us dare to be such, for the danger is every-where and the hour presses. Let us promise to use our influence on every occasion to arrest the progress of this corrupting flood. Let us act on public opinion so as to produce an irresistible current against this vile excess. Let us apply directly in the form of public petition to the com-

petent authorities to prevent the circulation of these demoralizing sheets at the doors of our schools and the workshops of the daughters of the poor. A monster movement has been inaugurated for a great petition to demand the application of the law against this infamous traffic. Women of France, use your influence to gain for it a host of names and a grand moral support!

THE CITY OF PARIS now spends twenty-four millions of francs annually for popular education and the support of teachers and schools. Among the other expenses we note 500,000 francs for school kitchens, in which the children can receive gratuitously, or for a very small sum, a warm dinner. Over 2,000,000 francs go for the Mothers' Schools, where the little children are taken care of during the day while their mothers are at their daily labor; 500,000 for the instruction of adults in evening classes; 300,000 for instruction in singing; 145,000 for school prizes; 100,000 for medical care of the schools; 200,000 for the administration and supervision; and 1,400,000 for drawing. The six public high schools demand 1,390,000, and 60,000 for free scholarships, while the upper schools for girls take 160,000, and the city college about 4,000,000. Large sums are also spent in manual training schools, etc.

THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF PARIS is still busy with reforming the school-books for the elementary city schools. They have offered a prize for an infidel arithmetic, and also a grammar that shall be careful not to utter the name of God or religion. The ordinary Readers are being rapidly purged of every thing that alludes to God. Some of them contain such sentences as the following: "Adore the Godhead." "If thou art kind to thy mother God will reward thee." "Providence permits an incredible number of fish to come into the world and grow and thrive." Even these must go. Voltaire himself does not please them when he says: "As King is he the model of kings, and as Christ is he the model for all men." "Expunge this," they say. Even the great poet and fabulist is to be amended when he says, "The little fish grows large if God lets it live;" La Fontaine should have said, "if men let it live." This Municipal Council will have none of this twaddle, and again directs the controller of the city schools to have all these false teachings expurgated from the books.

THE CLERICALS IN ITALY have made a new effort to keep the Roman question on the platform. Their organ—the *Voice of Truth*—publishes the text of a petition to be forwarded to parliament concerning the much-discussed reconciliation between the Papacy and the Italian Monarchy. The petition desires that the exalted chief of three hundred millions of heads and hearts, and the first and most revered citizen of Italy, be again placed in a position in which he will be subordinated to no one, and enjoy full and genuine liberty, as justice in every respect demands, and as comports with the real civil and social interests of the Italian people. Nothing is said in this petition about the restoration of the temporal power; but, that the committees throughout the land may be in no doubt as to its real object, an accompanying circular confidentially reveals its ulti-

mate purpose. The Italian parliament will, of course, receive the petition, but will pass to the order of the day.

In Italy the question of the hour among the Protestant element of the population is that of the "union" of the various evangelical denominations into one body; but, with a great deal of discussion, it does not seem to make much progress. It has now virtually settled into the question of *Who shall be greatest?* The vacillating and exacting element is the Waldensian Church. The demand made by this all along has been that all the rest should come to it, as the original evangelical element since the period of the Reformation. But this would be an absorption, and not a union, and the absorption of the stronger by the weaker element; for since liberty of worship has been accorded in Italy the Free Churches have been very much more active and aggressive than have been the Waldenses. For a time the Waldensian Church acceded to a combination bearing the name of the Union Evangelical Church of Italy, but after a season receded from its proposition; and, notwithstanding conferences and synods many, the matter makes no progress, and is quite likely to go no farther. Our Methodist churches long ago virtually withdrew from the movement, because they declined to ignore their own separate identity in the Italian mission work. The assumption of the Waldenses that they alone were acknowledged by the State is a myth; they were so in Piedmont, but were never so acknowledged by the kingdom of Italy. The state religion is Catholic, and now all other sects are tolerated. A union of the Church would, in some spheres, be an element of strength, but in others of weakness.

The Lepers' Asylum in Jerusalem continues to attract much attention from the benevolent, and will evidently grow into a great and desirable retreat for the poor creatures who have hitherto been, in every sense, outcasts. It now contains about twenty-five patients. Since its establishment about one hundred have been treated—sixty-seven of these were Mohammedans. The director of the retreat is aided in his activity by the visits of religious teachers, and by meetings held by the evangelist Drehamel, who gives Bible readings twice a week. There seems to be no demand by the patients for Catholic or Greek teachers. Even the Mohammedans seem careless about the religious instruction of the Moslems among the patients. Sometimes a Catholic priest will be called to administer the sacrament to the dying. The dead are generally buried in their own rites. The Christian teaching is therefore voluntary. Bishop Gobat's orphanage has at present sixty children.

The Lower Congo is in no very enviable condition, according to the report of the German explorer, Dr. Herrmann, who has just returned from an extensive journey in the heart of Africa. The ivory trade, under the rule of Tippoo Saib, has become a great outrage on the inhabitants of the Congo valley, and a gross violation of the laws of the Congo Free State.

In the entire course of the Lower Congo there are "factories," or warehouses, for dealings in the ivory which comes from the "interior." But this "interior" is an ominous word. Before a tooth reaches the coast or a white man it has changed possessors five or six times. In the East it is the Arabs who buy the ivory—or, as it is now, under the rule of Tippoo Saib from Stanley Falls down, who steal it from its owners and cut them down if they defend themselves, and make slaves of them if they surrender quietly. In the West the tribes become, as it were, middlemen, and sell it to one another until it reaches the coast. The head-quarters for ivory is now Stanley Pool; and since the factories have been opened on the Congo the negroes save several weeks to the coast, and receive as much for their ivory as they would there, where the dealers can combine against them in the last resort. Each factory has its drummers, who go into the interior and meet the caravans, offering them all kinds of inducements to deal with their own establishments, even to sending to meet them on their way a supply of rice, fish, and rum for the carriers, with the promise of more when they arrive. The German explorer gives no very pleasing picture of the morals of any of these parties.

The Census of Constantinople, just taken, reveals a curious medley in that noted city. The entire population is 871,000, of whom 741,000 are Turkish subjects, and 130,000 foreigners. 385,000 of these are Mohammedans, 152,000 Orthodox Greeks, 4,300 Bulgarian Orthodox, that is, Russo-Greek; 150,000 Gregorian Armenians, 6,500 United Armenians, 1,000 Roman Catholics, 900 Protestants, and 45,000 Jews. The foreign population consists of Greeks, Italians, Austrians, Hungarians, Germans, Montenegrins, English, French, Russians, Roumanians, Servians, Bulgarians, etc. In the capital of Islam and the residence of the caliph the Mohammedan element is slightly in the minority—486,000 are Christians, Jews, and foreigners, while the Ottoman Turks count but 385,000. Among those of the Russo-Greek Church there is the sharpest contrast according to nationality. The Orthodox Greeks recognize as their head the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople, while the Gregorians find their spiritual chief in the Armenian Catholics in a Russian cloister.

The City Mission of Berlin has had quite a boom in the accession of a new and royal patron. Prince William, the eldest son of the present Crown Prince, called a meeting of notable divines at the house of Count Waldersee. The prince was virtually the speaker of the occasion, and he expressed himself in no uncertain tones. He believes that the throne and the altar are in danger from the socialistic and anarchistic tendencies of the age, and sees the antidote largely in the bosom of the Church and the true faith. He contends that the unbelieving masses must be reached in such a manner by practical Christian teaching of love and kindness that they will return to the fold they have so largely deserted. He pleads, therefore, for more charity and less bitterness, for more breadth and less partisanism, and urges the City Mission to every good work.

HAMBURG, though a city devoted to trade and commerce, is noted for its numerous benevolent institutions; it is, indeed, the classic soil for all Christian benevolence. Its Rauhe House for the care and instruction of poor, homeless boys is world-renowned in the annals of benevolence; and the influence of this establishment has gone out into Sunday-schools, mission houses, Bible-societies, sailors' and emigrants' and mission houses, whose list counts up *one hundred and thirty* associations and institutions for all the imaginable ills of soul and body. These must be personally seen and examined to have any conception of the breadth of their activity. And therefore it is now becoming quite the custom for committees from other parts of Germany to visit Hamburg with the special intent to learn how to follow her example.

SOUTH-WESTERN AFRICA seems to have gained much more than some other regions by the recent rise of the mission spirit in the German heart. Since Herr Lüderitz, of Bremen, made his bold stroke in seizing Angra Pequena and the surrounding territory for the German Empire, and running up the flag of that proud nation, much has been done to attract the eyes of the world to these new *colonies*. A large extent of coast from the mouth of the Orange to that of the Kunene River has been virtually incorporated into the German Empire. The English government tried to prevent this because of its nearness to their possessions in South Africa; but the movement was made with but little skill and less heart, and failed entirely.

By this measure the mission work in this region will be largely extended, for the German government has learned the great fact that the missionaries are their best allies in settling new lands; but it is quite doubtful whether real colonial interests will be much advanced by the effort, because of the barrenness of the soil and the low state of the natives. The promised gold and silver do not appear, and the small amount of copper that can be obtained does not pay the expense of obtaining it. The trading station at Angra Pequena is obliged to bring its drinking water from Cape Town, over a thousand miles away, in sailing vessels, until means can be devised to procure it in the interior; and the whole coast for many miles inward is a barren, sandy waste. Still, in the land there are several flourishing mission stations that promise well as the germs of colonies.

THE NEW TRIPLE ALLIANCE of Italy with Germany and Austria is a strange combination of powers. Who could have predicted a few years ago that the Latin and the Teuton could thus have joined hands in any thing—much less a matter with a political bearing! Minister Crispi's visit to Bismarck was a marvelous revolution in the wheel of fate, and may largely tend to shape the history of the future. The first practical result of this alliance is, the fact that in case of a general war Austria-Hungary will have its rear protected, so that it can throw all its power against Russia. As long as one might threaten Austria from Italy her

position was precarious. And not less in France do they now see that the position of Italy makes it much more difficult for the Celt to draw the sword on Germany with any hope of success. This new alliance is therefore a new pledge of peace which the world owes to Bismarck.

THE UNITED FREE CHURCHES OF FRANCE made a capital showing at their last and twentieth synodal meeting. All the forty congregations that belong to the synod were represented, and the evangelical portion of the Reformed Churches showed their sympathy by sending fraternal delegates to the conference. In view of the new order of things introduced by the compact organization of the semi-official synod of the Reformed Churches, the Free Churches have resolved to admit all its pastors and elders to a seat with the Free Church Synod with a consulting voice. In this way the path is being made clear and easy for a final combination of both Churches. The Free Churches form but a small band in comparison with the six hundred congregations of the State Church; but they cling to their opinions with the more tenacity, from the prospect of an early separation of Church and State in France.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES are suffering greatly from the severe measures adopted by Russia to stamp out the German language in the schools—the language of the largest portions of the inhabitants, who are virtually emigrants from Germany, who went there with an assurance that their language and their faith would be assured to them. Both have been violently attacked of late, and the State schools have been ordered to use the Russian language only in the schools. In consequence of this cruel order many private schools were established for the German children with the tacit consent of the public curator of schools. But now, after great exertion and sacrifice in order to establish these schools, appears an order from the government to use the Russian language in them, except in a few special branches, which means that the German will soon be stamped out entirely.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

STIRRING EVENTS IN THE ANGLICAN MISSION IN UGANDA, CENTRAL AFRICA.—The Church Missionary Society has had a great deal of interesting news from its Central African missions in Uganda and in Msalala and Uyui since our January number was prepared. Mr. Mackay, who was so long virtually a prisoner in Rubaga, and at the mercy of a cruel and capricious king, left Uganda late in July last, and went to the station at Msalala, at the south end of the lake. He did not leave because he wanted to escape the personal danger to which he was constantly exposed, nor even the petty annoyances which made his life in Uganda an unending torment; but he left because the circumstances seemed to make

it best that he should leave. The Arabs had been more than usually troublesome. They were in high favor with King Mwanga, who at their earnest request began to study the Koran. They had his ear at all times, and poisoned his mind, whenever they had opportunity, against the Englishman, declaring that he was a "land-eater," and that when Stanley came with his army the two would lay their heads together and lay plans to "eat" up all Uganda. They told the king that Mackay had written to the coast to complain of Mwanga for keeping him a prisoner; and when dispatches came from the British consul and others at Zanzibar for Mr. Mackay and others, the wily Arabs did not hesitate to open them and mistranslate them to the king. They urged the king to send Mr. Mackay away. They objected greatly to his teaching the natives how to make calico, as it would injure their trade, and his books were particularly obnoxious to them. They thought they were all *Enjils* (Gospels), and would propagate a religion opposed to theirs. The king hesitated to order Mr. Mackay to leave, for he was a very useful man to his majesty, and could make him many things he wanted. He would occasionally ask Mr. Mackay, however, when he was going away. Mr. Mackay would always tell him that he would go whenever he requested him to go. Says the brave missionary, in one of the entries in his journal, "From the first and up to now [July 12th, nine days before he departed], I have determined to take no active steps in the direction of seeking permission to withdraw." He seldom had an opportunity to talk with the king except in the presence of the Arabs; but one day, when he had reason to believe his enemies were all away from court, feasting, he prepared a present for the king and went to see him. The king was gracious, and heard him with much interest, and even laughed at the sharp things he said about the Arabs. Mr. Mackay warned the king that their nature was to intrigue and slander, and to sting like snakes; that their words were poison, and that they brought nothing into the country of their own. The goods they brought were European goods, and the ivory they bought they sold to Europeans, and yet were continually abusing their patrons. They brought only three things of their own: "a dirk in their girdle, a malicious heart, and a lying tongue." On the 21st of July Mr. Mackay packed up such goods as he wished to take with him, locked up his house, and left for the south end of the lake, arriving at Msalala August 1st. On the 10th of August the *Eleanor* returned to Uganda with the Rev. G. C. Gordon, who, it was arranged with the king's sanction, should take Mr. Mackay's place temporarily. At Msalala Bishop Parker expected to meet Mr. Mackay in the middle of October and confer with him. But news was received at the Mission House in London, just before Christmas, that trouble had broken out at Msalala, and also at Uyui, a station some distance south of Msalala and almost directly east from Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika. Both of these stations are in the country called Unyamwezi, and have been occupied some time. The chiefs at both these places have long been pestering the missionaries for *hongo*, and at last accounts they were preparing to enforce their demands with arms, and the missionaries had decided to withdraw.

Bishop Parker was at Uyui, and was about to remove the mission to another district whose chief, Mtinginya, seemed more friendly. Mr. Mackay was at Msalala helping the missionary at that place to prepare for removal if necessary. This was on the 4th of October, and the directors of the society are in a state of suspense, not knowing whether Mr. Gordon has arrived safe in Uganda, nor whether Bishop Parker and Mr. Mackay and their brethren are safe at Uyui and Msalala. The last news from Bishop Parker was dated October 17. From another part of the same diocese, Sagalla, in the Taita mission, the society has information of similar troubles. This mission has been occupied several years. Two missionaries, Mr. Wray and Mr. Morris, are stationed there. Recently, with only a native catechist and a lad in their company, they were suddenly set upon by an armed band of forty natives, who started out with the warcry, "The whites are to be murdered to-day." They accused the missionaries of bewitching the land and causing famine. The missionaries took the native oath and were allowed to pass on, but were attacked by a volley of stones and a flight of arrows, and were rescued in the nick of time by a band of friendly natives. They were compelled to pay heavy tribute to prevent further violence.

Mr. Mackay's voluminous letters for the first half of 1887 give some cheering indications of the progress of the Gospel in Uganda, even under the extremely difficult circumstances with which he was surrounded, and some striking illustrations of the faithfulness, under persecution, of the native Christians, who have multiplied rather than diminished, despite the dreadful massacres of 1886. One of Mwanga's edicts provides for the punishment of anybody found with a book in his possession. Mwanga says Mr. Mackay shall not teach any body to read while he lives; but the fear of punishment has not prevented many from buying books and learning to read. According to an entry in his journal, there were "many men and women" in his house all the forenoon on June 19, 1887, reading in Matthew and Daniel. Some lads were at that time undergoing punishment for having been discovered with books in their possession. Under the same date we find this paragraph:

> Of late we have been reading in the evenings several of the most difficult epistles right through. To-night we had the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Romans, with a good class. The argument they seem quite to comprehend. Where, then, is Thompson, with his feeble scheme of Islam for Africa; or Reichard, with his charge of extreme poverty of mental power in the Negro?

At this date some three hundred and fifty copies of a part of Matthew in Lugando were in circulation. An entry made three weeks later shows that two hundred additional copies had been printed and sold in that period. St. Matthew, the Acts, and Apocalypse, were most in favor with Mr. Mackay's pupils, who, by the way, had to run considerable risk, even in visiting him at night; for the king had issued an edict authorizing the arrest of anybody found on the road at night. Copies of hymns, the litany, and other Christian literature were eagerly bought, until the stock was entirely exhausted. Native Christians carry their books with them

when they go away from home, that they may spend all their leisure moments in study.

Three of the members of the Church Council of the mission in Uganda, two of whom are chiefs, have written the following remarkable letter to their "English fathers:"

BUGANDA MISSION, *May* 13, 1887.

Beloved, of authority in the Church of Jesus Christ, our English fathers, and all Christian who love us, our brethren—We, your Bugunda brethren, write to you to thank you for the letter which you sent us. We rejoiced much to hear news which came from where you are to cheer our hearts through our Lord Jesus Christ.

We thank God that you have heard of our being persecuted. Thank God who brought our brother where you are, whom we love, MR. ASHE, and made you understand the evil which has befallen us Christians in Buganda, your children whom you have begotten in the Gospel.

Mr. Ashe has told you how we are hunted, and burned in the fire, and beheaded, and called sorcerers, for the name of Jesus our Lord. And do you thank God who has granted to us to suffer here at this time for the Gospel of Christ.

We hope, indeed, for this thing which you hoped for us in your letter, namely, that in a short time other teachers will come to teach. And you who have authority continue earnestly to beseech Almighty God, who turned the emperor of Rome to become a Christian, who formerly persecuted the name of Jesus as today this our king in Buganda persecutes us. And do you, our fathers, hope that we may not in the least degree give up the word of Christ Jesus. We are willing, indeed, to die for the word of Jesus; but do you pray for us that the Lord may help us. Finally, our friends, let your ears and eyes and hearts be open to this place, where we are, at Buganda. Now we are in tribulation at being left alone. Mr. Mackay the Arabs have driven away out of Buganda. O friends, pity us in our calamity. We, your brethren, who are in Buganda, send you greetings. May God Almighty give you his blessing! May he preserve you in Europe!

We remain your children who love you,

HENRY WRIGHT DUTA,
EDWARD,
ISAYA MAYANJA.

This is the kind of Christianity the savages of yesterday in Uganda profess. It is the kind that conquered in the apostolic age, and will conquer as well in the interior of the "Dark Continent."

BISHOP TAYLOR'S CONGO WORK.—A number of letters have been received from Bishop William Taylor, showing what he is doing and what his plans for the immediate future are. The letters are all written from Vivi, at the head of navigation on the Lower Congo, the latest bearing date of November 11. The steamer *Annie Taylor*, intended for use on the Upper Congo, had arrived at Vivi, after some delay, in small sections, or man-loads of sixty-five pounds each. Owing to the fact that Stanley had secured all the carriers, it was found necessary to devise some other means of transportation. Accordingly, a traction engine was ordered from Liverpool, and Mr. Critchlow set to work at Vivi to build a steam wagon, which he had accomplished to his own satisfaction and the satisfaction of the bishop. The traction engine had arrived at Banana at the mouth of the river, but had not reached Vivi. It was believed that the steam-wagon would carry at least a hundred man-loads at a time up the steepest of

the hills on the way to Stanley Pool. The bishop speaks of having 3,600 man-loads at Vivi to be transported, besides 300 loads at Matadi. He does not promise that this stupendous task can be accomplished in another dry season, but is confident that if the men in charge of the enterprise do not succeed no others could. His plan is to make Vivi his base of supplies. He has bought from the government, for $800, seven acres and four buildings in Vivi, the recent capital of the State of Congo. An adobe warehouse is to be built to receive all goods sent from Europe and America, to be distributed to the various missions as needed. The Rev. J. C. Teter has been appointed storekeeper, and he has already begun his work, storing the goods now on hand and taking an inventory of them. He will report to the committee in this country on receipts and distribution of supplies whenever requested so to do. While waiting for the dry season the bishop has been engaged in building operations and in planting new stations. At Vumtomba, a native village back of Vivi, an adobe house was built, the bishop himself making the adobes, or bricks. The cash cost of the house, which has three rooms, was only $20. Thirteen miles from Vivi, on the Stanley road, at Jadi Kabanza, another house was built and a station established with a missionary in charge. Nine miles farther on, at Matamba, another house was built and another station opened, also with a missionary. At Isangola still another station was begun. All these places are on the north bank of the Congo. It is the bishop's purpose to complete, another year, this line of stations to Stanley Pool, a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles from Vivi. At Mamba a hundred acres have been bought from the French government. There are four missionaries at this station at present. There are now some eighty missionaries on the Congo, and nineteen, it is stated, are on the reserve list of the Taylor Building and Transit Fund Committee waiting to be sent out. The bishop writes that he cannot "readily be spared" from his work now, but expects to be at the General Conference. He speaks of having given orders for material for sixteen new mission houses in Liberia. On the subject of self-support he writes:

> Hitherto, the Lord has anticipated and provided for all the needs of our work. He does not mean to forsake us, but he wants us to be strictly true to him, and to our principles of self-supporting missions. We need toning up all along our lines, and I am writing far and near to echo this note of warning, and urging our people to make good, in the sight of God and the people, their promises and professions in regard to self-supporting mission work. As for myself, and Brother Critchlow to help me, I have tried to stick to the lines of the strictest economy consistent with the conditions of health, life, and effectiveness in work.

THE MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH OF CANADA.—The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada has passed the two hundred thousand dollar line, and its cry the present year is for "a revival in every congregation, and a quarter of a million for missions." It has missions in Japan, and among the Indian, French, and English populations of Canada. Japan, its only foreign mission, was begun in 1873. It has six missions, with 781 members, a net increase of 190 last year, and an

Anglo-Japanese College. It is stated that many Roman and Greek Catholics, in the towns where the society has missions, leave Catholicism for Methodism; and in one place, Hamamatsa, the Roman Catholics have been talking of coming over in a body. The society has a limited work among the Chinese in Canada, and quite an extensive work among the Indians and French. Of the Indian missions there are twelve in British Columbia, with 1,280 members; eleven in Manitoba Conference, with 1,018 members; six in Toronto Conference, with 426 members; six in London Conference, with 768 members; three in Bay of Quinte Conference, with 86 members; and two each in Niagara, Guelph, and Montreal Conferences, with a total of 638 members, making a total of 4,216, of which number 302 represent a net increase, showing that the missions are reasonably successful. Superstition is the great obstacle in Indian mission work, and, as the report of the society says, great patience and often great sacrifices are necessary on the part of the missionary. The Christian Indians, it is noted, became active propagandists, and even old men learn to read in order that they may carry the Gospel to their heathen neighbors. The French work of the society consists of about a dozen missions, with a total of 275 members, a net increase for the year of 28. There was a decrease in four missions amounting to 33. There are many discouragements to try the faith of the laborers, several of whom retired last year. And yet, according to the Report, no work can be more important than this among the French Catholics. "Every year the danger to our free institutions becomes more threatening, and the grasp of the hierarchy more fixed and unyielding. Ultramontane Rome dominates, with absolute sway, the political, educational, and social life of the Province of Quebec, and holds the key of the political situation in the other provinces of the Dominion." Relief must come, if at all, through educational and evangelical agencies, and the Methodist Church must no longer "play at French missions. She must either sanction comprehensive plans and large expenditure, or else retire from the field."

During the past year a revolution occurred in Japan in the dress of native women. They put away the Japanese costume and adopted the European style of dress. The women missionaries do not agree that the change is in all respects a good one. Mrs. Thompson, of the Presbyterian mission in Tokio, says she would have liked it better if the native women had not "thrown away their own costume so entirely, and adopted ours with all its burdensome changes. Their own dress," she continues, "with several modifications, could be made very convenient, very comfortable, very economical, and very pretty." Miss Milliken, of the same mission, says the change took place without the favorable influence of the missionaries, and it probably would have taken place even if a distinctly unfavorable influence had been excited by them. They neither advocated nor opposed, but advised and assisted, those who made the change. She would have been glad if a "more sensible costume" than that of the West had been adopted.

Open Doors in Korea.—An American gentleman who is engaged in educational work in the Government College in Seoul, Korea, Mr. Hulbert, writes that the present condition of Korea seems to be greatly misunderstood in America. He says American Christians are praying for the opening of Korea, not knowing that a large part of Korea *is* open. The only clause in the treaty between Korea and the United States which bears in any way on missionary work is, he says, that books which are obnoxious to the government shall not be sold in the interior. The interior means all the country except the open ports, which are Fusan, Yuensan, Chemulpo, and Seoul, which are all open to the Scriptures. No remonstrance has been made to the Christian work which has been undertaken in Seoul, and "Christianity has nothing to fear from government opposition so long as the work is done judiciously and in such a manner as not to challenge the combativeness of the old conservative spirit." He knows of no reason why missionaries should not be "put in the capital of every province." Let the Churches occupy the position already open, he urges, and then the Lord will open the country more thoroughly. He writes:

> One of the missionaries here has just returned from a trip in the country, and has found scores and hundreds of people who want to be baptized. Some have walked to Seoul, over almost impassable roads, a distance of two hundred miles or more, to be baptized and to be taught in the principles of the Christian faith. It is said that in the north there is in one village a band of over a hundred who have gone so far as to be beaten for their faith, and missionaries here have been asked to go and visit them and baptize and teach; but how can they when there are only two male missionaries in the country under the Presbyterian Board and two others under the Methodist?

The people, he says, in the absence of any deep-seated prejudice in favor either of Buddhism or Confucianism are "especially susceptible of approach through Christianity." The staff of our own mission in Korea consists of the Rev. H. G. Appenzeller and W. B. Scranton, M.D., and three women missionaries. A Korean embassy, with Dr. Allen, of Seoul, as interpreter, arrived at Washington in January.

The Sultan's Intolerance.—Moslem intolerance in Turkey is becoming more and more stringent. When the American Board began its missions in the empire the chief opposition came from the Christian sects, chiefly from the Armenians, among whom the Board has done most of its excellent educational and evangelistic work. Armenian prejudice has been largely overcome, but the antipathy of the Moslem has been intensified. The present sultan, Abdul Hamid, who came to the throne in 1876, is more religious than his predecessors were, and has naturally drawn around him admirers of his own narrow and intolerant type. His administration has been shaped by the "divine law of the Koran" rather than by European methods, and missionary work, especially missionary schools, is regarded with great disfavor. Much of the opposition, however, has been covert, though not the less difficult to meet on that account. Early last year a sort of compromise was reached by which the schools were to be free from vexatious interference by conforming to the Turkish school-

law. This was very difficult, as it ruled out many harmless text-books; but the missionaries accepted the scheme as the best thing attainable. At the beginning of the present year the government announced a further modification of the law which, if enforced, will practically close the mission schools. Its chief provisions are thus given by Dr. H. N. Barnum, a missionary at Harpoot:

1. That no foreigner shall be allowed to open a school without a special *firman* from the sultan himself—and such a document is not easily obtained.
2. No Ottoman subject shall be allowed to attend such a school until after he shall have had a course of religious instruction in one of his own schools.
3. Foreign schools are to refrain entirely from religious instruction.
4. All existing foreign schools, which do not conform to this and certain other conditions, and obtain the sultan's authorization within six months, are to be permanently suppressed.

These schools, it must be remembered, are not for Moslems, but for the Armenians, Bulgarians, and other nominal Christians. The Turks probably fear the influence of the Gospel on Islamism, and they do not like to see the subject races becoming more intelligent than themselves.

THE FRENCH POLICY IN THE SOUTH SEAS.—France is quite liberal in religious matters at home; but she has a very different policy for her colonies. As Mr. Bert used to say, his anti-Catholic views were for home use, not for exportation. In her colonial policy she is almost as intolerant as Spain; indeed, quite so. It is true that the Spanish governor of Ponape, one of the Caroline Islands, seized and imprisoned, on the most absurd charges, a missionary of the American Board; but the governor-general promptly gave the missionary redress and removed the offending official. What French intolerance is capable of was seen a few years ago in the case of Mr. Shaw, of Madagascar, and has been illustrated more than once in the Loyalty Islands, over which, unhappily, the French protectorate has been extended, since missionaries of the London Society began many years ago to make Christians and civilized beings of the savage population. The Loyalty group lies between New Caledonia, the French penal colony, and the New Hebrides, where French influence has been asserting itself to the discomfort of the missionaries, and with the manifest intention of seizing the islands. Happily, English protest has prevented this. On Maré, one of the Loyalty group, the Rev. John Jones, of the London Missionary Society, has been laboring since 1853. He has wrought a wonderful work among the natives, and is one of the most popular men in the Western Pacific. Mr. Jones has, by order of the governor-general, been expelled from the island. This is the news which his society has received. There are no particulars, but it is thought that the expulsion was caused by his protest against the introduction of convicts from New Caledonia into Maré. Two years ago Mr. Jones's church and schools were closed by a decree of the governor, but they were reopened by permission of the French consul at Nouméa. There are Catholic priests on the island, and they have, it is said, been waging a religious war against Mr. Jones. It may be that their influence has helped to

bring about Mr. Jones's expulsion. Whether English influence will be so exerted as to secure his reinstatement is a matter of doubt.

PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER, the famous linguist, though very liberal in his judgments respecting religions, finding, with Augustine, good in even the lowest forms of worship, does not seem to be the admirer of Islam that Canon Taylor is. The discussion started by Canon Taylor's paper at the Wolverhampton Church Congress, last October, has led to a thorough sifting of the subject in the English press, daily and periodical, and the canon's rose-colored description of what Islam is doing for Africa finds little support. Professor Müller, in a recent speech at a missionary meeting, said he had yet to learn that the success of missions depended on majorities, as Canon Taylor seemed to imagine. "If I gain ten, I am right; if somebody else gains twelve, then I am wrong." A man who only thought of the spirit of truth, and not of the opinion of others, was the man wanted to uphold the Gospel of Christ. Don't let us count heads, he said, but go on preaching what every one of us knows to be true.

MR. ARTHINGTON, of Leeds, the liberal Wesleyan friend of missions, has offered $75,000 to the London, the English Baptist, and the Scottish Free Church Missionary Societies to establish, under their joint control, a mission in South America, along the Amazon and its tributaries.

HERE are a few testimonies to the value to civilization of foreign missions which are worth grouping together:

The missionaries are the true pioneers of civilization. It is to them we have to look to carry the reputation of foreigners into the heart of the country, and it is on their wisdom and justice and power of sympathy that the renaissance of China may largely depend.—*Tientsin Correspondent of the London Times.*

No class of men on earth, except German professors, would attempt to rival English missionaries in linguistic attainments. There are men among them in dozens as familiar with the folk-lore of out-of-the-way tribes as Professor Darmstetter is with the folk-lore of the Semitic peoples, and others who have mastered thoroughly the so-called "impossible" languages—learned Chinese and popular Singhalese.—*The London Spectator.*

"The millions of China are under obligations to the missionaries for trustworthy information upon history, geography, and science," says Griffith John. "This alone," remarks the London *Times*, "would redeem the work of the missionaries from the stigma of failure."

Few are aware how much we owe the missionaries for their intelligent observation of facts, and their collecting of specimens.—*Agassiz.*

I feel sure of this, that nothing that has been conferred upon India gives greator promise for the peace and prosperity of India than the Gospel you have sent to them.—*Sir Bartle Frere to missionaries in India.*

The missionaries have not long enough been established in New Guinea to make it worth while for me to open trade with that country.—*An English merchant.*

Formerly the terror of the Pacific Ocean was the barbarism of the natives of the islands. When a ship was wrecked or in distress, the natives appropriated the cargo, and often murdered the crew. Now, wherever missions have been established it is safe to go for supplies and trade; and when a ship is wrecked, the

natives exert themselves to save life and property; and some ship-owners and navigators have said that the property saved to commerce by the natives is worth more than the entire cost of missions in those islands.—*An English writer.*

The missionaries have opened up new avenues for trade; formed treaties of friendship and commerce where none existed before, giving employment to the merchant marine; taught the English language so as to facilitate commercial transactions; and have accomplished more in the extension of influence in the East than all the consuls together, and the country could afford to pay them a handsome bounty for their disinterested labors.—*United States Consul in Bangkok, Siam.*

The decrease of the Polynesian population is not now going on as fast as it was in the first half of the century. While in this matter the English government deserve great praise, and while Sir George Grey has done more for the Polynesians than almost any other man, the missionaries nevertheless stand in the very front rank among the benefactors of these races, with their unwearied self-sacrificing activity.—*Dr. Gerland.*

A missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Burmah says that the six strong points in the ramparts of Buddhism are these :

1. It is the ancestral religion, and has all but universal sway. No dissenters.
2. All the boys and young men at some time wear the robe, and live in the monastery.
3. The women are more devout Buddhists than the men.
4. It is the one bond of national life.
5. Science, art, knowledge, are all saturated with Buddhism.
6. The coercive power given to the religion by its union with court and crown.

These points he thinks will be carried in the following order, the sixth having already been overcome :

6. The crown and coercive power has gone, and the monks will now form independent corporations.
5. Western art, science, knowledge, and trades will undermine and supplant the old system.
4. The national life must separate from decaying religion, and find newer and more vigorous life, with civil and religious freedom under the fostering care of England.
3. Women will find brighter, nobler hopes and work under the Gospel; and their devotion become fixed on Christ, not Gau-da-ma.
2. More active intellectual life will burst monastic bonds, and the youth of the country become no longer willing to submit to its irksome restraints.
1. The magnitude and extent of the old religion will hurry it on to destruction when once decay has set in.

The "dignified" clergy, as they are called, of the Buddhistic faith in Upper Burmah, exclusive of Mandalay and the Shan states, number 18,340. First comes the *Tha-tha-na-baing*, or pope; then the *Gaing-chokes*, or archbishops (13); third, the *Gaing-okes*, or bishops (133); fourth, the *Gaing-douks*, or archdeacons (383); and fifth, the *Kyoung-a-chokes*, or abbots (16,825). Add for rulers of monasteries in Mandalay 985, besides 5,968 chaplains and monks.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

One of the most weighty and instructive articles in recent periodical literature is that which leads in the (English) *Quarterly Review* for October, under the title, "The Catholic Revival of the Sixteenth Century." It is a study, first, of *Renaissance in Italy:* The Catholic Reaction, by John Addington Symonds, and, secondly, of a Belgian publication, *La Centre-Révolution au XVI^e^ Siècle,* by Martin Philippson. Both these works unfold the methods whereby the progress of the Revival and Reformation was checked. The article is remarkable for its many sidelights on modern times and tendencies. "A period of decadence—and the present age needs the warning—may be defined as one in which taste is made the standard rather than originality, and the rules of taste are ascertained and stated. The decadence of Greece expressed itself in gems and the anthology; that of Rome, in rhetoric; that of the Middle Ages in quibbles and niceties of philosophy: what seems important is form rather than substance. . . . By her attitude in the Council of Trent the Church of Rome left to Protestants and unbelievers the task of extending human knowledge in which she had borne so noble a part; thenceforward she was bound to follow, and follow unwillingly, not to lead mankind in the pursuit of knowledge; discipline and authority, not freedom and truth, are thenceforward her watchwords; and now that she has lost the support of the secular arm, she yields more and more to the temptation of temporizing with error, and seeking how to avoid censuring methods of thought and inquiry she cannot altogether bless. That she holds her own with so few signs of decrepitude is also due to the Council of Trent, out of which she emerged purified from scandals; to the learning and discipline of her seminaries; . . . to the charity and courage of her missionaries and her religious, both male and female, and to the tradition of piety, which never shone more brightly than in an age when her doctrines are discredited." Helpful discussions of "Popular Education," of "Lord Selborne on the Church," with other papers of purely English interest, make up an able number.

The November *Contemporary* opens with a discussion of the Relations of Ulster to the rest of Ireland and the Empire. Certain it is, that the question of Home Rule is seriously embarrassed by the existence of Protestant Ulster, and fears as to its fate if left to a Roman Catholic Home Rule Parliament. Archdeacon Farrar, asking "Was there a real St. Antony?" concludes that the saint is probably mythical and the "Life" spurious. David A. Wells, our American economist, discusses in a second paper the fall of prices. While Professor Garnett's paper on "University Education for the People" is based on English methods, it is yet rich in suggestion to American educators. President Charles K. Adams's "Contemporary Life and Thought" is a valuable *résumé* of the facts and theories now agitating the American mind. It is eminently worthy of study.

The December *Contemporary* opens with a study of that great biography, "The Life of Charles Darwin, by his Son." The reviewer is Archibald Geikie, F.R.S., than whom none more sympathetic or competent can be found. Those who have no time to read the two considerable volumes will gain the essential facts from this paper, as well as an insight into modern scientific methods. Bennet Burleigh, in writing of the "Unemployed," shows how English benevolence and practical wisdom deal with the idle classes of London. Our practical statesmen may find instruction here.

Professor Elmslie contributes, if it be possible, a new study of Genesis. The author "does not suppose himself to be giving the matter-of-fact sequences of creation's stages. His interest does not lie in that direction. His sole concern is to declare that nature, in bulk and detail, is the manufacture of God. He writes as a theologian, and not as a scientist and historian. . . . The recurrent notes of the narrative are three: God's naming his works, his declaration of their goodness, and the swift formula of achievement, 'It was so.' The naming does not mean that God attached to his works the vocables by which in Hebrew they are known." Its significance appears in the definition of function, into which, in the latter episodes, it is expanded. "Name, in Hebrew speech, is equivalent to nature."

Professor Geffcken's account of "Contemporary Life and Thought in Germany" opens recent movements there in a very intelligible manner.

The *London Quarterly Review* for October is solid and weighty with papers on "The Progress of Fifty Years," "The First Epistle to the Corinthians," "Recent Explorations in Palestine," "Ireland and the Celtic Church," "The Syrian Christians of South India," and "The Middle Age of Methodism and its Greatest Man"—Jabez Bunting being that man.

No recent article from an American pen has attracted more attention than "An Olive Branch from America," by R. Pearsall Smith, in the November *Nineteenth Century*. While few are ready to admit that Mr. Smith points out the way to a solution of the international copyright question, he has at least achieved success in calling attention to the subject, and the subject is considered in this number by many others, notably Gladstone, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and Professor Huxley. This last doughty controversialist, in a paper on "Science and the Bishops," finds much to comfort him in his opinions on evolution in some recent utterances of the bishop of Manchester on the "Development of Doctrine." But the professor restates his objections to the doctrine of prayer and miracles, while endeavoring to be fair and considerate to his opponents. He improves in scientific candor the more he writes. Missionary students will find much that is helpful in the article by H. H. Johnston, on "British Missions and Missionaries in Africa," and in Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake's presentation of the "Work and Worth of Medical Women."

The *Westminster* for November hardly keeps pace with its neighbor, *The Contemporary*, in the value of its articles. The best are on "The Progress of the Masses," "The Land Question in America," and on "Ralph Waldo Emerson."

The *New Princeton Review* for November is very strong. Charles Dudley Warner contributes a study of the brilliant genius of "P. B. Shelley." George Woolsey Hodge puts forth a "Scheme for Church Reunion," practically a plea for all to enter the Episcopal Church, with some small concessions from that body not destructive of its character. A new body is to be formed requiring reordination for all who enter it, if we understand the author. William Nast contributes "Recollections of David Friedrich Strauss," while Marvin R. Vincent discusses Dean Plumptre's "Dante."

The November *Unitarian* affords "A Study of Christianity in Japan," by Horace Davis, which attempts to show that Unitarian Christianity is the only form which can hope to succeed. "The Gospel of Anarchy" is a study of the best in the anarchistic programme, showing that the dreams which find expression among Anarchists, so far as they are good, spring from the doctrine of Christian brotherhood.

The October number of the *Church Review* is almost exclusively related to denominational questions and interests. The November number is much broader, having excellent papers on "Boswell's Life of Johnson," by Appleton Morgan, and on "Some Limit to the Possibility of Revelation," by Rev. W. D. Wilson.

The December *New Englander and Yale Review* leads with a paper by Dr. Patton, on "The American Board at Springfield." He does not advise the New Theologians to leave the Board. He hopes for a change of policy. E. P. Buffett describes "The Physician of To-day and the Future." The best of the number is in the Book Reviews.

The December number of the *North American* has nineteen articles, among the best of which are Mr. Gladstone's "Universitas Hominum," a strong plea for the supremacy of Christianity in relation to human unity. Dr. Field has "A Last Word to Robert G. Ingersoll," which shows that Ingersoll's fatalistic faith is severer and more discouraging than the baldest Calvinism. Joseph Parker, D.D., draws a vivid picture of the social and other disadvantages from which Dissenters suffer in England, and declares that disestablishment is near at hand. There is a great variety of short articles on interesting subjects.

In the January *North American* a Republican sharply discusses the President's Message. Max O'Rell has an amusing paper on "John Bull Abroad." Robert Ingersoll replies to Dr. Field. This correspondence is discussed in this number by Henry W. Hazen and Stillman Forcythe. The number has several good short articles.

Christian Thought for December has as its leading paper "The Religion of Humanity," by Lyman Abbott. S. G. Van Slyke, D.D., in "A Study of Trichotomy," shows the importance of belief in the tripartite nature of man in its relation to immortality and other doctrines. F. F. Ellinwood, D.D., has a good paper on "An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion." The usual news and reviews follow.

The *Andover* keeps on its way with great ability. In the November issue Rev. J. B. Heard writes well of "Three Panics, by One who has Lived them Through and Down." These panics were those about Papal Aggression, Ritualism, and the Essays and Reviews. Lyman Abbott, a very fruitful writer, considers "Paul's Theology" in its relation to justification. The "New Theology" question has a side-light in Mr. Hill's inquiry into the relation of the American Board to the Churches, "Is it Domination or Dependence?" The December issue gives prominent place to Professor F. G. Peabody's "Philosophy of the Social Questions," in which the correlation of the several questions is clearly shown. Mr. Edward W. Bemis is the latest investigator of the George land theory, and, while seeing that evils exist in the present system, finds George's theory one that is impracticable and unjust. An anonymous writer throws much light on "Church Problems in Germany." In reviews the *Andover* is very strong.

The October *Catholic Review*, apropos of a sentence in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, "I have warmed both hands at the fire of life," asks the question, "Has Professor Huxley's Mission been a Failure?" The answer is, that he has added nothing permanent to anti-Christian literature. J. G. Shea, LL.D., in another paper, maintains that there is no need of a Catholic party in the United States.

Dr. Van Dyke, Sr., answers, in the January *Homiletic Review*, Miss Willard's plea for the licensing of women as preachers, taking high ground against it.

Our brother of the *Southern Methodist Review* has a strong table of contents in the November issue. Of special interest are the articles on "Design *versus* Chance," by C. W. Barrier, M.D.; "Certain Aspects of Early Methodism," by Rev. John Alfred Faulkner; and "Unity Better than Union," by Rev. J. W. Hawley.

The *Magazine of American History*, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, is so good, and so beautifully printed and illustrated, as to be a credit not only to the editor, but to the intelligence of the country. The November number is superb.

The *American Magazine* deserves a good word. It has entered the field splendidly held by *Harper's*, the *Century*, the *Atlantic*, *Scribner's*, and others, but it has its own quality of good, and seems likely to gain a good place.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Romanism and the Reformation from the Stand-point of Prophecy. By H. GRATTAN GUINNESS, F.R.G.S. Author of *Light for the Last Days, The Approaching End of the Ages*, etc. 12mo, 396 pp. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Mr. Guinness is a scholarly expounder of prophecy, as his previous works, *The Approaching End of the Ages* and *Light for the Last Days*, abundantly show. In the present volume his aim is to prove that Daniel, in his forecast of the history of the proud "little horn" of the Roman beast, outlined the actual political career of the papacy during the 1,260 prophetic days of its duration, and that in losing its territory, its temporal kingdom, and its "direct political power," it fulfilled the prediction which says, "They shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it to the end." Its consuming or wasting away process is now going on.

The spiritual history and ecclesiastical relations of the Papacy Mr. Guinness finds in Paul's predictions of the character and power of the "man of sin," "the son of perdition," "that wicked one." These phrases represent an evil "power in the Christian Church"—the great Antichrist which is to gradually lose its spiritual influence until Christ shall finally destroy it at his coming. In the mystic symbolism of St. John our author finds both the spiritual and political character of the papacy delineated and its terrible destruction foretold. To support his interpretations he devotes three chapters to citations from many learned Bible students, who wrote both before and since the Reformation. There is a large measure of valuable historical matter in this volume, and although the reader may not fully accept its theory, he cannot help being deeply interested, and made to feel very profoundly that the papacy is a deadly foe to the kingdom of Christ, and a power which Protestants need to watch closely and to energetically work against, not with carnal weapons, but with concentrated efforts to teach the true faith to its blinded followers.

Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. By F. GODET, Doctor of Theology, etc. Translated from the French by Rev. A. CUSIN, M.A., Edinburgh. Vol. II. 8vo. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Godet's reputation as a learned, scholarly, critical, and evangelical commentator is too well established to need special commendation. Like his previous commentaries, this is characterized by the fullness of its expositions, the richness of its suggestions, the beauty of its style, the devoutness of its spirit, and the depth of its insight into the meaning of the sacred text. An illustration of this last quality is found in his comment upon Paul's illustration of the resurrection seen in the decay and quickening of a grain of wheat, by which, says Godet, "the apostle avoids two

rocks against which those who treat this question lightly are very apt to make shipwreck. The one consists in identifying the raised body with the present body, as if the first must be formed by the reunion of all the material molecules of which the second is composed. Who could regard a magnificent oak, or an apple-tree laden with its vernal beauty, as the material reconstruction of the acorn or the pip from which they sprang? The other, on the contrary, consists in destroying all connection between the two bodies, as if the latter were a new creation without organic relation to the former. In this case we could no longer speak of a resurrection. In reality death would not be vanquished; it would keep its prey. God would simply do something new by its side."

Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the Times. By JAMES B. WALKER, D.D. 16mo, pp. 264. Chautauqua Edition. New York: Chautauqua Press, C. L. S. C. Dept.

This work, in its earlier edition, attained a large circulation and exerted a wide influence for good, and the call for a new edition proves that its value is daily appreciated by the public.

Beginning with the proposition that man will worship some superior being, the author recalls the history of God's dealing with the Israelites; reviews the method in which Christ fulfilled the prophecies of the Messiahship; notices the nature of the faith to be exercised in him; and traces the practical effects of the Christian system upon human hearts and life: from which line of argument the writer deduces the conclusion that the "religion of the Bible is from God, and divinely adapted to produce the greatest present and eternal spiritual good of the human family." Each chapter of the book is an epitome of valuable teaching. Of particular merit seem the chapters describing the development of the ideas of holiness, justice, and mercy, and their transfer by the Israelities to the character of Jehovah. The character of saving faith is also tersely shown. The value of the means of grace is taught. The work of the Holy Spirit is emphasized. The instances of individual benefit from the Gospel, which are cited, are strikingly realistic. Three adjectives will describe this little volume: it is orthodox, simple, helpful. No better book can be put into the course of the Chautauqua study. S.

Come Ye Apart. Daily Morning Readings in the Life of Christ, by the Rev. J. R. MILLER, D.D., Author of *Week-Day Religion*, etc. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

It is a good habit to feed one's soul daily with an easily remembered text of Scripture. The object of this volume is to aid the formation of such a habit. Its three hundred and sixty-five texts from the gospels are briefly elucidated and applied, with pertinent observations and suggestions fitted to quicken one's conscience and turn one's thoughts upon Him who is the Shepherd of the "little flock" to whom it is "the Father's good pleasure to give the kingdom." It is a help to spiritual devotion and practical living.

The World to Come. By WILLIAM BURNET WRIGHT, Author of *American Cities.* 16mo, 307 pp. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.

Twenty discourses on practical and experimental godliness are in this volume. They are characterized by strong individuality, both of thought and style, and are full of pith and point. Their expositions of truth are somewhat original, their ethical tone is eminently scriptural, and their often quaint observations provocative of thoughtful reflection. It is a live book.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

The Humiliation of Christ in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects. The Sixth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By ALEXANDER B. BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of *The Parabolic Teachings of Christ, Miraculous Element in the Gospels,* etc. 8vo, pp. 457. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Dr. Bruce has a high reputation in the theological world as a scholarly, liberal, profound, and suggestive thinker and writer. In this elaborate work, which has reached its second edition, and contains an additional Lecture on "Modern Humanistic Theories of Christ's Person," he places in a clear light the manifold speculations concerning the doctrine of the *kenosis* which have found a place in the thought of the Christian Church from A. D. 451, when the Council of Chalcedon gave "final shape to the Christology of the ancient Church," down to the present time. His method is based on the theory that "the whole doctrine concerning Christ's person and work may be advantageously surveyed by taking the two states of Christ—his humiliation and exaltation—as one's point of view." Hence he employs "the teaching of Scripture concerning the humiliation of the Son of God, as an aid to the formation of just views on some aspects of the doctrine of Christ's person, experience, and work, and as a guide in the criticism of various Christological and soteriological theories."

In working out his method Dr. Bruce, after stating certain Christological axioms clearly deducible from holy writ, gives an historical presentation of the Patristic, Lutheran, and Reformed Christologies. "Modern Kenotic Theories" are then described. After this we have "Modern Humanistic Theories of Christ's Person" considered. His next theme is, "Christ the Subject of Temptation and Moral Development." The concluding Lecture views "The Humiliation of Christ in its Official Aspect." His mode of treating these profound inquiries is not to state and defend his own theories, but to define those of men whose ideas for a time molded the opinions of the Church. Among such theorists he treats of Apollinaris, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius, Nestorius, Cyril, Thomas Aquinas, Brentz, Chemnitz, Thomasius, Ebrard, Martensen, Zinzendorf, Schleiermacher, etc. The views of these thinkers are fully and clearly stated, analyzed, compared one with another, and then criticised with judicial fairness. In doing this the deep research, extensive theological knowledge, keen intellectual insight, and reverential spirit of the author are

made apparent. Nevertheless, one looks in vain to find any positive statement of his own concept of the import of the *kenosis*. He rather excuses himself from attempting to state it by saying, "one may well be excused indeed for assuming this attitude of suspended judgment not merely in reference to the kenotic theories, but toward all the speculative schemes we have had occasion to notice. The hypothesis of a *double life*, of a *gradual incarnation*, and of a *depotentiated Logos*, are all legitimate enough as tentative solutions of a hard problem. . . . Faith can afford to dispense with their services. For it is not good that the certainties of faith should lean too heavily upon uncertain and questionable theories. Wisdom dictates that we should clearly and broadly distinguish between the great truths revealed to us in Scripture and the hypotheses which deep thinkers have invented for the purpose of bringing these truths more fully within the grasp of their understandings." This is doubtless the right view to take of Christological theories, seeing that the incarnation involves mysteries insoluble by created minds. "Who, by searching, can find out God?" Nevertheless, it is desirable that every student of theological truth should be acquainted with those theories, and no safer or wiser guide to their exploration can be found than the learned and judicious author of *The Humiliation of Christ*.

History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion from the Reformation to Kant. By BERNHARD PÜNJER. Translated from the German by W. HASTIE, B.D. With a Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in University of Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. 660. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Dr. Pünjer, who died in 1885, was a Professor Extraordinary of the Theological Faculty of Jena, and was not quite thirty-five years of age at the time of his death. He published this work, now first translated into English, in 1880. Its exceptional merit and permanent value won immediate recognition in Germany. A second volume prepared from his manuscripts by Dr. Lepsius is to shortly appear. It treats of the principal questions properly belonging to religious philosophy.

The present volume is not a universal history of the philosophy of religion, nor a history of the philosophy of Christianity, but of the philosophy of religion "so far as it has sprung up on a Christian soil and under Christian influences." Hence it treats, not of Christian writers only, but also of Spinoza, the English deists, Voltaire, etc. Consequently its title is slightly misleading, because it does not include the full content of the book.

Dr. Pünjer does not write both as an historian and critic of "philosophico-religious theories"—does not bring other men's theories to the test of his own—but aims to be only the narrator and expositor of other men's philosophical doctrines. As such he imparts so vast an amount of information as to justify Dr. Flint in saying, in his Preface, that "nowhere else will a student get nearly so much knowledge as to what has been thought and written within the area of Christendom on the philosophy of religion. He must be an excessively learned man in that depart-

ment who has nothing to learn from this book." Pünjer appears to have been studiously fair in his narrations and estimates. Yet in his account of Methodism he is so manifestly unfair that his translator has seen fit to correct him in a note. He seems to have relied too much on such writers as Southey for his authority, and on his own superficial observations of German Methodists in making up his judgment. This unfairness, however, appears to be exceptional, and must not be accepted as representing his usual mode of dealing with the facts which pass under his review. In spite of this defect, his work is one of great value.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Scripture Doctrine of the Church, Historically and Exegetically Considered. The Eleventh Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By the Rev. D. DOUGLAS BANNERMAN, M.A., Sometime "Cunningham Fellow," New College, Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. 589. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

In this volume we find a full, if not an exhaustive, treatment of the history and doctrine of the Church of God, beginning with the Abrahamic covenant of grace, which found its completion when, as Paul taught, "the blessing of Abraham came upon the Gentiles in Christ Jesus." Its writer finds the first "visible Church" in the family of that great patriarch, whose "faith was reckoned unto him for righteousness," and whose family was a type of the Christian Church to be composed of persons united in the fellowship of faith in the "blood of the New Testament." After discussing the worship, the spirit, and the fruits of the patriarchal Church, our author proceeds to describe the character and life of the Church of Israel under the law down to the period of the exile, and of the Jewish Church under the synagogue system, which had its probable beginning immediately after the restoration of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and which continued to the time of Christ. The Church as it appears in our Lord's teaching, as it was in the Hebrew Christian Church, in the Gentile Church, and in the second period of the history of the apostolic Church, is next treated. Thus the scope of the work is wide, including many questions of very deep interest to every Christian thinker.

In the constitution of the Abrahamic Church Mr. Bannerman finds, as he thinks, the true theory of the Church of God. He describes it as having its basis on God's election of persons "in a way of sovereignty for reasons in himself. . . . We see God choosing and passing by according to the counsel of his will. He calls and separates to himself certain persons out of the general company of men. . . . Some are called, and chosen, and faithful. Others are left." Analogous to this is his conception of the Church of Christ, which he describes as made up, not of men chosen because of their acceptance of Christ, but "of the elect of God, of all the souls chosen in Christ and given to him by the Father." Thus the author reads a creed into his book which no Arminian can accept. But though this is a fault which mars his work, it does not, by any means, destroy its value in most other respects.

Mr. Bannerman gives a very full history of the constitution, administration, worship, and influence of the Jewish synagogue system. The substance of all that is known about it is in his pages. With pardonable delight he finds in it the essentials of a Presbyterian form of Church government; to wit, a congregation of worshipers governed by elders chosen by itself. And the early Christian churches were, as he reasons, organized on the model of the synagogue. The democratic principle of electing elders by the vote of the people was accepted by the apostles. The eldership so elected became "self-acting." Thus, among both Jews and Gentiles, Christian churches were from the first self-governed, albeit with respect to questions which involved uncertainties and difficulties they naturally sought instruction and guidance from the apostles and brethren at Jerusalem, Antioch, and other centers of Christian intelligence. Our author claims that they were Presbyterian in government; but we do not find convincing evidence in his pages that they were organically united to any central governing body, as Presbyterian churches now are through their General Assembly. From what is said of them in Holy Scripture one is disposed to conclude that, though all the congregations in a city were united under the government of their elders, yet they were for a considerable period independent of any other ecclesiastical authority; but, being one in spirit, the younger churches naturally sought counsel in emergencies of those first formed, and still under the personal guidance of the apostles or of those who were most intimately acquainted with them. But seeing that Mr. Bannerman writes with marked catholicity of spirit, and does not claim divine authority for Presbyterianism, one can, without accepting its full content, most heartily commend his work for its learning, its literary excellence, and especially for its historical value.

The Life of William Morley Punshon, LL.D. By FREDERIC W. MACDONALD, Professor of Theology, Handsworth College, Birmingham; Author of *Fletcher of Madeley*, etc. With etched portrait by Manesse. 8vo, 514 pp. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $3.

William Morley Punshon was one of the most remarkable men of his time in that, though not liberally educated, he won a foremost place among the pulpit and platform orators of England. His family connections were respectable and prosperous. Yet he was taken from school and placed in the counting-room of his uncle when scarcely fourteen years old. Converted before he was fifteen, he promptly joined a Wesleyan society, and entered actively on such Christian work as was open to him. When sixteen a conviction of duty to enter the ministry took possession of him. He preached his first sermon only two months later, but was not autherized to preach until nearly two years afterward. Then he "at once found himself famous." When twenty years of age he was admitted as a candidate for the ministry to the Theological Institution at Richmond, from whence after a few months he was sent "to supply a vacancy" at Marden, where he "attracted large congregations." After completing his probation of four years he was ordained, married, and ap-

pointed to the Newcastle circuit. Here "his popularity was immediate and unbroken." His reputation grew so high and wide that in 1853 he was invited to speak at the missionary anniversary in Exeter Hall, London. He stood this severe test of his oratory so well that he "produced a great impression," and made men feel that "another man had arisen to stand among the foremost advocates of Christian missions. In 1854 his oratorical power was put to a still severer test through an invitation to lecture before the Young Men's Christian Association in that same hall. There, in presence of nearly three thousand people, he delivered his lecture on "The Prophet of Horeb," with such perfect command of his audience that at the end of two hours one "might have heard a feather fall in the vast assembly," which, when "the last sentence had fallen from his lips, rose *en masse* and cheered till it could cheer no more."

Punshon's reputation henceforth was fame. He had reached a giddy height, upon which he continued to stand without a rival in his peculiar line. As preacher, lecturer, superintendent of circuits, missionary secretary, president of his Conference in England, and of the Canadian Conference, he was eminently successful to the end of his days. He thus demonstrated the real greatness of his mind by rising, from first to last, to the full height of his opportunities.

In his Life of Dr. Punshon, Mr. Macdonald has ably analyzed the powers and lovingly traced the development of the gifts of this extraordinary man. He shows how he acquired knowledge unaided by little more than a rudimentary education. He finds the keys of the problem partly in his astonishing memory, which needed not labored effort, but simply a single reading, to make it lastingly retentive, and partly in his indefatigable industry. His power lay also very largely, not in deep intellectual insight, or a profound reasoning faculty, but in his imagination and sympathies. The former was not the inventive imagination of the great poet, which creates its imagery, but the acutely perceptive one, which takes on minute impressions of details and molds them into attractive pictures. His sympathies also were deep and broad. The facts visible to his imagination so moved his inmost nature as to beget emotions of pity, love, detestation, admiration, or repulsion. And his mastery of language was so complete that he could give exact expression to every variety of emotion in suitable words. Moreover, his moral perceptions were exceedingly acute, as one may see in the masterly portrait of Catherine de Medici, contained in his lecture on the Huguenots. But who can explain the mystery of oratory? Is it not a resultant of the sum of all the mental, moral, and physical qualities of the man?

Mr. Macdonald has given in this volume all the available materials out of which one may form one's own judgment of the measure of this most remarkable man. He has blended his abundant matter with taste and skill into a symmetrical whole, and given us a graphic and, as it seems, a correct portrait of this eloquent and faithful preacher. Through the more than five hundred pages of this stately octavo one never finds him dull, never too intrusive of himself, never indiscriminately flattering,

never injudicious in his use of Mr. Punshon's journals, letters, and speeches, but selecting enough from them to give one some insight into the inner life of the man who for some thirty years was almost constantly visible traveling to and fro in his ministry of love to humanity. Hence we see the orator to whom an audience was a musical instrument obedient to the magic of his tongue, subject to moods of depression, to hopes and fears, to anxieties and doubts, to joys and griefs, yet withal a truly God-fearing man, who loved his Master for his own sake and humanity for his Master's sake.

The Life of John Wesley. By JOHN TELFORD, B.A., Author of *Wesley Anecdotes.* 12mo, 363 pp. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1·50.

This is a life of our great founder which will be popular with the people because of its vigorous brevity. Without omitting any facts essential to a fair and reasonably full portraiture of Mr. Wesley, its author has condensed the substance of all that is known of him into one easily handled volume. He has not, however, merely sifted the materials of previous biographies through his own mind, but has studied the man and the events of his career from his own view-point, and weighed them in the balance of his own independent judgment. He has also added some hitherto unpublished details to what has been heretofore given to the public. Wesley's love affairs and marriage he has placed, if not in a new, yet in a strong and interesting, light, as he has also the tenderness, gentleness, and courtesy which characterized him. Mr. Telford's pages are enlivened with anecdotes cleverly woven into the warp of his narrative. While his unstinted admiration of the character and work of Wesley is every-where apparent, his disposition to paint him as he actually was is not less evident. His style, though not ornate, is clear, strong, lively, and pleasing, as is fitting in a condensed biography. The wide circulation of this interesting volume is very much to be desired, because it is calculated to keep alive the spirit of genuine Methodism, and teach our people to love the man of whom Alexander Knox, after spending a few days in his company, two years before his death, said: "So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance. Every look showed how fully he enjoyed

'The gay remembrance of a life well spent.'

. . . Easy and affable in his demeanor, he accommodated himself to every sort of company, and showed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most perfect piety. . . . In him old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud."

An Unknown Country. By the Author of *John Halifax, Gentleman.* Illustrated by FREDERICK NOEL PATON. Square 8vo, pp. 238. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mrs. Dinah Maria Craik, *née* Mulock, the amiable author of this charming volume, since giving it to the public has departed to that unexplored country "from whose bourn no traveler returns." The "Unknown Country"

of which she here writes is the North of Ireland. Concerning it she says: "It is as absolutely unknown to its two sister countries as if it were in the backwoods of America." What she means is, that it is so little visited by English and Scottish tourists that, though it is "a region strangely beautiful in its desolation and isolation," the outside world is ignorant of its peculiar attractions. Animated by a desire to view its scenery, to learn its social condition by personal observation, and to study the character of its people unbiased by national or religious prejudices, this intelligent and broadly charitable lady went to Ireland, traveled from Antrim to Cushendall; to the Giant's Causeway; to Londonderry; to Carrick, and to Sligo. Her account of this tour is extremely interesting. She talked freely with people of all classes—with peasants and landlords, with priests and Protestant ministers, with rich and poor. These conversations, always interesting, often spicy, we have in this book, together with many characteristic anecdotes and shrewdly sensible observations. Her conclusion is, that Ireland is and always must be a country too poor to support a large population; that the people generally are what in America we call "shiftless;" that its lower class is ignorant and its upper class too neglectful of them; that the influence of priests is "enormous, both for good and evil." Nevertheless she thinks that "the Celtic is a noble race, with enormous possibilities of good," and that, knowing it well, one "may hate it," yet "cannot despise it." No book by a tourist has been written in a better spirit than this. None but a prejudiced reader can fail to feel its fascination. It is admirably, even profusely, illustrated.

The Drum-Beat of the Nation. The First Period of the War of the Rebellion, from its Outbreak to the Close of 1862. By CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN, Author of *The Boys of '76*, etc. Illustrated. Square 8vo, pp. 478. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Coffin writes in this book as an eye-witness in part of the scenes he describes. As the war correspondent of the *Boston Journal* having a personal acquaintance with most of the generals commanding our armies, he had the best possible opportunities for gaining as fair and full a comprehension of the battles he witnessed as it is possible for any one individual to obtain. A commanding general sees but little of the detail of a battle from his point of view. He depends largely on reports from his subordinates sent him by their aides. But an observer, having the liberty of the field, and being without responsibility, can, if he has the requisite courage, move from point to point and note the movements of bodies of troops and the sequence of events. Mr. Coffin was such a courageous observer. He used his exceptionally fine opportunities with good effect, and being a gifted writer has given in this volume a probably clearer view of the battles of Bull Run, Shiloh, of the Peninsula campaign, Fredericksburg, etc., than can be found in any other single volume. Mr. Coffin has large descriptive power. He groups facts admirably, is master of details, and generalizes well. He also writes with apparent candor, unbiased, it would

seem, by personal prejudices. His book is therefore one of the most readable of the shoals of books written about the war. The Harpers, with characteristic liberality, have illustrated this work most magnificently.

The Ancient Cities of the New World. Being Voyages and Explorations in Mexico and Central America, from 1857–1882. By DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY. Translated from the French by J. GONINO and HELEN S. CONANT. Quarto, pp. 514. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This superb volume, which is very richly illustrated, merits more than an ordinary notice. We have therefore placed it in the hands of one of the ablest writers in our Church, from whose pen an analysis of its contents and a critical estimate of its value may be expected in the March number of the *Review*.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Index and Catalogue for Any Library. Being an Extension and Adaptation for General Use of the *Analytical Index to Foster's Cyclopædias*. By Rev. ELON FOSTER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 358. Price, in cloth, $2 25; in sheep, $3.

Foster's Scrap Holder. Twenty-one Pockets. Each pocket alphabeted and numbered for classification and reference. Four series of holders with consecutively numbered pockets. Per series, $1 25. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 13 Astor Place, New York, Publishers.

Those who have used the *Cyclopædias of Prose and Poetical Illustrations* by the Rev. Elon Foster, D.D., will be particularly interested in the present volume. It contains various indexes of these voluminous works, which indexes have been prepared in response to a public demand, and are designed to facilitate the use of the author's Cyclopædias. Doubtless they will be found valuable to this end. In the "Analytical Index" space is left for the entry of such additional illustrations as are found in the user's library. Newspaper scraps may also be registered in the same index, and the clippings themselves preserved in a "Scrap Holder," which accompanies the present volume. Concerning the many expedients for the preservation of clippings, nothing need be said. In so far, however, as the capacity of the "Holder" extends, the designer proposes a simple, compact, and inexpensive method for the saving of fugitive extracts from the prints. Dr. Foster has given much attention to the needs of students in the matter of sermonic illustrations. S.

The Holy Child; or, the Flight into Egypt. By THOMAS E. VAN BIBBER. Square 8vo, pp. 251. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a poem of moderate merit, in which the poet describes those parts of Palestine and the Sinaitic desert through which Joseph and Mary bore the infant Jesus on their flight into Egypt when Herod "sought the young child's life." He has woven many legends and poetic fancies into his rhythmic story, which is enlivened by more or less graphic sketches of Oriental scenery, by dialogues between various imaginary characters, and

by the warmth of poetic and religious feeling. His sympathy with the papistical view of Mary's perpetual virginity, immaculateness, and intercessory influence is quite too evident. This may be mere poetical license, but it is open to objection from a Protestant view-point. It is very prettily illustrated.

Old Homestead Poems. By WALLACE BRUCE. Illustrated. Square 8vo, pp. 167. New York: Harper & Brothers. $2.

These poems give smooth, rhythmic expression to those tender affections which keep alive the memories of early days in every healthy mind. They recall the scenes in which one's childhood and youth were happily spent with the dear ones long since departed, whose love was the light of "the days which are no more." They also breathe the spirit of patriotism, and tell in pleasing numbers of the heroes whose story "now dark, now bright," was the history of our country

"From seventy-six to eighty-three."

Nor are the "boys in blue," who suppressed the great rebellion, forgotten. He sings their praises in burning lines. From these grave themes his muse leads the reader to those that are gay and amusing. Thus the book is well spiced with variety, and is, on the whole, a charming volume. It is beautifully and abundantly illustrated. As to its poetry, it is, if not of the highest, yet of a fairly good quality. It is tender in feeling, pure in thought, beautiful in expression, and in excellent taste. The book is attractive in appearance and entertaining in its contents.

An Outline Sketch of American Literature. By HENRY A. BEERS. Professor of English in Yale College, Author of *An Outline Sketch of English Literature*, *A Century of American Literature*, *Life of N. P. Willis*, etc. 16mo, pp. 287. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway.

The purpose of this volume is to serve as a guide-book to our national *belles-lettres* literature. This limitation, of course, excludes most of our historical, political, philosophical, scientific, and religious works. It contains seven chapters, which treat of The Colonial Period, 1607–1765; The Revolutionary Period, 1765–1815; The Era of National Expansion, 1815–1837; The Concord Writers, 1837–1861; The Cambridge Scholars, 1837–1861; Literature in the Cities, 1837–1861; Literature since 1861. The author's method is to give brief character-sketches of the writers of each period, with critical remarks on their works, in which he calls attention to their intellectual qualities, to the characteristic features of their productions, and to their rank in the realm of authorship. Professor Beers is an entertaining, vigorous, and instructive writer.

Narka, the Nihilist. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. 16mo, pp. 356. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A story of Russian life, in which the influence of the despotic spirit and usages of Russian society is graphically described, and the discontent which lies at the root of Nihilism is illustrated in the characters and conduct of the heroic Narka, the vacillating, heartless Basil, and the proud, sentimental Sybil.

Harper's Young People for 1887. Quarto, pp. 844. New York: Harper & Brothers.

There are few books in any family which contribute so much and so long to the pleasure and profit of the young folk as such a volume as this. The story-book is read once, possibly twice, and then thrown aside. But give them this noble volume with its uncounted illustrations, and its vast variety of story, incident, and anecdote, and they will return to it again and again, always finding something which, if not new, is so suited to their taste as to be fresh and entertaining. Better still than this is the fact that its reading is as wholesome as it is pleasing.

Modern Italian Poets. Essays and Versions. By W. D. HOWELLS. With portraits. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Readers unfamiliar with the language of Italy will be grateful to Mr. Howells for this delightful volume. It pleasantly introduces them to the principal poets whose verse for a century past has been a potent force in the development of that spirit of liberty which found its latest expression in the unity of the Italian peoples. Beginning with the frivolous "Arcadian Shepherds" and their silly sentimental rhymes, he proceeds to sketch such writers as Alfieri, Monti, Foscolo, Manzoni, Grossi, Niccolini, Leopardi, Giusti, Dall' Ongaro, Prati, etc. The poetry of these men was very largely "a patriotic expression and aspiration." They sang of liberty until the people caught their spirit and won constitutional government at the sword-point. Mr. Howells's sketches of the lives and times of the poets themselves bring out their characters very distinctly. His translations of select portions of their writings, with his critical comments, enable one to form an intelligent estimate of their respective merits.

Paddy at Home. By the Baron E. DE MAUDAT-GRANCEY. Translated by A. P. MORTON. 4to, pp. 63. New York: Harper & Brothers.

An intelligent French gentleman, desirous to ascertain whether Irish poverty is caused by English misgovernment or by the operation of economical causes, spent several weeks in 1886 traveling about the Green Isle. He took copious notes of what he saw and heard. He was a keen observer. His sources of information were superior and abundant. Hence his book is both entertaining and valuable. His conclusion is that Ireland must remain a dependency of England, and that, her soil being insufficient to sustain her population, her relief can only be found in extensive emigration.

April Hopes. By W. D. HOWELLS, Author of *Indian Summer*, *Modern Italian Poets*, etc. 12mo, pp. 484. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Howells scarcely sustains his reputation as a novelist in this volume, which, while it shows his power of graphic description and strong characterization, is yet made tedious and dull by the long-drawn-out and flat conversations which he puts into the mouths of his principal personages.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Big Wages, and How to Earn Them. By a Foreman. 16mo, pp. 219. New York: Harper & Brothers.

There is more practical common sense in this spicy little volume than can be found in the more pretentious writings of Mr. George, or in the oratorical diatribes of the eloquent ex-priest, McGlynn. Being a workman himself, its author speaks from experience and from the view-point of an inside observer. When he pronounces labor unions unprofitable and oppressive; when he affirms that a strike is labor dissipated and lost forever, and therefore unprofitable to the laborer; and when he declares that skilled workmen generally are dissatisfied with union rule and submit to it only through fear, he speaks of what he knows to be true. He writes sensibly also on "Wages," "The Rich," "Socialism," on questions of political economy, etc. The wide circulation of his book among intelligent working-men would be a boon to them. Capitalists also would do well to give heed to its facts and suggestions. For, though he is a workman, he is also a writer who need not to be ashamed of this fruit of his brain and pen.

Modern Ships of War. By Sir EDWARD G. REED, M.P., late Chief Constructor of the British Navy, and EDWARD SIMPSON, Rear-Admiral U. S. N., late President U. S. Naval Advisory Board. With Supplementary Chapters and Notes by J. D. JERROLD KELLEY, Lieutenant U. S. N., Author of *The Question of Ships*, etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 284. New York: Harper & Brothers.

To Americans in these times of peace the question of the comparative strength of our navy is not a very exciting one. Not that it is intrinsically unimportant, since, in case of a sudden war with England, France, or Italy, despite our distance from Europe our coast line cities would be at the mercy of either of those powers, so long as we are without ships capable of contending outside our ports with their armored fleets. Hence, though there is little present danger of any such war, thoughtful men, knowing the uncertainties of human affairs, cannot well help desiring that our navy should be made equal to our possible danger. To such minds this volume is very full of interest, because it pretty fully describes the naval strength of Europe as well as our own. It shows the merits of the various styles of iron-clad ships, of wooden vessels unprotected by armor, and of torpedo vessels. It is richly illustrated with numerous spirited engravings, and its letter-press contains much valuable information. It is beautifully printed, and will doubtless find many readers.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Cato Maior Et Lælius. With an Introduction and Commentary. By AUSTIN STICKNEY, A.M. 12mo, pp. 191. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The two treatises of Cicero in this volume are substantially from the text of C. F. W. Muller, which follows the orthography supposed to be current in the time of Cicero. Mr. Stickney's Introduction and Notes are intended, not to serve as crutches to lazy students, but to assist industrious ones in their efforts to so understand Cicero as to be able to enjoy his writings.

The Modern Sunday-School. By JOHN H. VINCENT. 12mo, pp. 344. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

This is a book of suggestions for practical people by a thoroughly competent, practical writer. It covers the entire ground of Sunday-school work and management, is well written, contains a rich storehouse of valuable information, and is just such a volume as every intelligent Sunday-school teacher and officer needs. Pastors will also find it useful, and parents who are interested in the institution for its own sake, and because their children are in it, will find it profitable reading. Dr. Vincent has done a good thing in giving it to the public.

Bar Harbor Days. By Mrs. BURTON HARRISON, Author of *The Golden Rod, An Idyl of the Desert, Helen of Troy*, etc. Illustrated, 16mo, pp. 181. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mrs. Harrison wields a vigorous pen, animated by her love for the beautiful and picturesque in nature, and her discernment of character, both in children and adults. Hence, in this little volume we have some charming sketches of the scenery in and about Bar Harbor, blended with a lively story of the experiences of two city boys during a summer spent at that popular watering place. The story derives not a little of its piquancy because of its relator, a pet dog named Dame Trot, which is supposed to tell it to her canine companion, Paul. To children this invests it with a peculiar charm, albeit in writing it the author evidently forgot at times that she was speaking through the mouth of a dog, and the consequent incongruity of the thing often compels the adult reader to smile.

Environment, A Story of Modern Society. By FLORINE THAYER MCCRAY. 12mo., pp. 404. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 25.

The aim of this lively story is to illustrate the possible effect of the individual use of wine or other alcoholic drinks. One of its principal characters, an educated, refined, and wealthy lady, by having wine prescribed for her when seriously ill, became the slave of the drunkard's appetite. After overcoming it the first time, she was subjected in a second sickness to the same treatment, with a similar result. The almost uncontrollable power of the appetite for drink and the means she used to gratify it, and her final victory over it, are described with graphic force. As a story, despite the realism of its sentimental portions, it is not without interest. But it is chiefly valuable as a protest against the use of alcoholic drinks in sickness, inasmuch as this part of the story appears to be substantially a page transcribed from a real life.

The Rose of Paradise. Being a Detailed Account of certain Adventures that Happened to Captain John Mackra, in connection with the famous Pirate, Edward England, in the year 1720, off the Island of Juanna in the Mozambique Channel; writ by himself, and now for the first time published. By HOWARD PYLE. Author of *Pepper and Salt*, etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 231. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A very exciting story, written with so much naturalness as will leave many readers in doubt whether it is "an ower true tale" or a romance.

The Gospel Worker's Treasury; or, Hymn and Revival Anecdotes, Texts, Subjects, Outlines, and Scripture Readings. Compiled by Rev. E. S. LORENZ, A.M. 8vo, pp. 387. Dayton, Ohio: W. J. Shuey.

Seven hundred and thirty anecdotes topically arranged, with about the same number of texts, subjects, outlines, and Scripture readings, also topically classified, make up the contents of this neat volume. The anecdotes are well chosen, condensed in style, and generally pertinent to the subjects they are designed to illustrate. In two separate "introductions" the author gives some very sensible suggestions concerning the best method of weaving anecdotes into sermons. The "outlines" are not particularly valuable. Preachers who know the right use of anecdotal collections will find this volume both convenient and useful. Sunday teachers may also find materials in it with which to make their teaching profitable.

The Resurrection Life; or, "Beyond the Grave" Examined. By Rev. L. VILLARS. 12mo, pp. 426. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author by Walden & Stowe. 1881.

This volume, published six years since, purports to be an examination of Bishop Foster's *Beyond the Grave.* Its author differs from some of the Bishop's interpretations of the texts which teach that there will be a resurrection of the dead. To the Bishop some of Mr. Villars's interpretations of the texts are, doubtless, also open to objections. But since both he and the Bishop accept the fact of a resurrection, while disagreeing about the *mode* of the fact, concerning which Scripture itself has very little to say, it is unprofitable to treat the question in a polemical spirit. It is far better for each to present his views independently of the other, seeing that the *mode* of the resurrection can never be decided by any of us until we are made possessors of those spiritual, incorruptible, glorious bodies that will be given us in place of our present ones, which, being constituted of corruptible flesh and blood, cannot inherit the eternal kingdom of God.

Antinomianism Revived; or, The Theology of the So-called Plymouth Brethren Examined and Refuted. By DANIEL STEELE, D.D. 16mo, pp. 266. Boston: McDonald, Gill & Co.

Dr. Steele has done valuable service to pure Christianity in this admirably written volume. Its historical sketch of the origin and spread of the fraternity known as Plymouth Brethren will be a surprise to those who have not noted its progress. Dr. Steele's vigorous analysis of its theories and his luminous reasoning on its ethically destructive tendencies are uncommonly fine specimens of dialectic art. In view, also, of prevailing tendencies to antinomianism in other than Plymouth Brethren circles the book is a timely production. It is an antidote to that disposition in human nature which inclines it to abuse the grace of God by making it an excuse for a bad moral life.

Goethe's Faust. Translated from the German by JOHN ANSTER, LL.D. Part II. With an Introduction by Henry Morley. 16mo, pp. 290. Paper cover. New York: Harper & Brothers. 25 cents.

This is probably the best translation of what Goethe's admirers consider his masterpiece that has hitherto been given to English readers.

Masters of the Situation; or, Some Secrets of Success and Power. By WILLIAM JAMES TILLEY, B.D. 12mo, pp. 338. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

A rich vein of practical common sense runs through this interesting volume. It is brimful of hints for self guidance in the affairs of every-day life, and these hints are enforced by illustrations drawn from the lives of men whose names found a place in history. Though necessarily dealing with commonplace themes, it is not made up of platitudes and commonplace remarks. On the contrary, it is pointed, pithy, thoughtful, and suggestive. To young men who are not dead to the voices that call human souls to live nobly, but who are listening to the whispers of duty, this volume must be eminently helpful.

Allan Quatermain; Being an account of his Further Adventures and Discoveries in Company with Sir H. Curtis, Bart., Commander John Good, R. N., and one Umslopogaas. By H. RIDER HAGGARD, Author of *King Solomon's Mines, Jess,* etc. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 16mo, pp. 310.

Mr. Haggard has a rare genius for inventing impossible adventures, and describing them with such graphic force and strong natural coloring as to give them such an air of reality that, while the reader smiles at his own folly in reading such Munchausen-like fiction, he is nevertheless so delighted with its pictures of scenery, its skillful portraiture of character, its touches of humor, and its exciting events, that his attention is captivated, and he is not content to put it down until he reaches its last page. If not much profited, he is yet innocently amused.

Gurney's Garden, and The New Boy at Southcott. By Mrs. MARY R. BALDWIN. 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Here are two charming, well-written stories, conceived in a delightful spirit, full of tender and benevolent feeling, and sure to both please and profit those who read them.

The Do Society; or, The Three Cousins. By Mrs. C. B. HOWARD. 16mo, pp. 217 Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 50 cents.

To illustrate the inner spiritual life working outward into right conduct and Christian activity is the aim of this pleasant, well-told story. A good book for the Sunday-school library.

Horsemanship for Women. By THEODORE H. MEAD. With illustrations by Gray Parker. Square 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Ladies who are favored with opportunities to ride or drive, to make habitual use of that noble animal, the horse, will find very much in this volume that will contribute to their safety and enjoyment. Mr. Mead understands his subject, and has made his book as interesting as it is instructive on the principles of good horsemanship.

The Gospel According to St. Luke. With Introduction, Notes, and Maps. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 268. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

These notes for Bible classes are brief, pointed, suggestive, scholarly, and valuable.

Horse, Foot, and Dragoons. Sketches of Army Life at Home and Abroad. By RUFUS FAIRCHILD ZOGBAUM. With illustrations by the Author. 8vo, pp. 170. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Here we have vivid sketches of army life in France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. We are shown the soldiers of these nations, not amidst the terrors of the battle-field but in the review or the sham fight, on the peaceful march, on the parade ground, in camp, and in the barracks. We see them in their hours of drill, in their amusements, when under hardships, and when in conditions of ease and comfort. We hear their pleasantry and their grumblings. In short, we are permitted to take an inside view of what military life is during peace in four nations. Over seventy-five engravings help to make its written descriptions more real and to gratify one's taste for the beautiful in art. Altogether, this is a decidedly attractive volume.

Readings from Washington Irving. Selected for the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. 16mo, pp. 156. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway. 40 cents.

Ten judiciously selected readings from Irving's fascinating works, including "The Author's Account of Himself," "Rip Van Winkle," "Stratford on Avon," etc., etc.

Thorn Apples. By EMILY HUNTINGTON MILLER. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

Mrs. Miller always writes good books, and this is one of her best. *Thorn Apples* is graceful in style, lively in spirit, interesting in incident, and calculated to inspire its readers with a disposition to seek to do good to others by first being good themselves.

For the Right. By KARL EMIL FRANZOS. Given in English by Julie Sutter. With a Preface by George Macdonald, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 198. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a powerfully written story, in which the peasant life of the Huzuls in Galicia is vividly portrayed. Its hero is a unique character, whose sense of justice, being unaccompanied by clear comprehension of the retributions of the future life, became an unreasonable passion and made him a fanatic.

The Hidden Manna. Being a View of Christian Holiness taken from the Standpoint of Personal and General Experience, with Scriptural Confirmations introduced with the Author's Experience. By SHERIDAN BAKER. 16mo, pp. 2[illegible]3. Boston: McDonald, Gill & Co.

This volume is evidently the work of a man thoroughly in earnest. Having himself tasted the sweetness of "a life hid with Christ in God," he herein seeks to persuade others to do likewise. His thoughts are plainly expressed, and in the main are sound and healthy.

The Summer at Heartsease. By SOPHIE WORTHINGTON. 12mo, pp. 267. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 90 cents.

A lively story, full of incident, and brimming over with the exuberant spirits of the healthy, happy children who figure in it very pleasantly. It is sure to be popular, and its tendency is elevating.

Tony, the Maid. A Novelette. By BLANCHE WILLIS HOWARD. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A story in which snobbery is amusingly and sarcastically treated; and Tony, a young lady's maid, adopts a very practical method of bringing a romantic girl to a sense of the proprieties.

Dialect Ballads. By CHARLES FOLLEN ADAMS, Author of *Leedle Yawcob Strauss, and Other Poems.* Illustrated by Boz. 12mo, pp. 136. New York: Harper & Brothers.

These are humorous poems in what the author calls "Anglo-Teutonic Verse." While they move one to laughter they also teach some practical common sense lessons.

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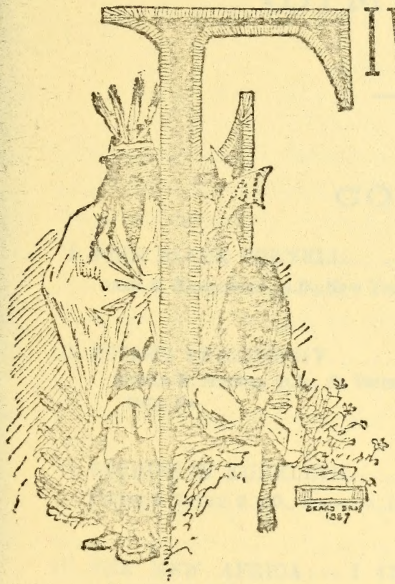

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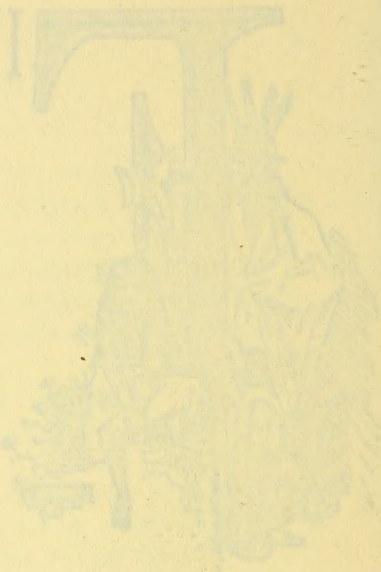

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

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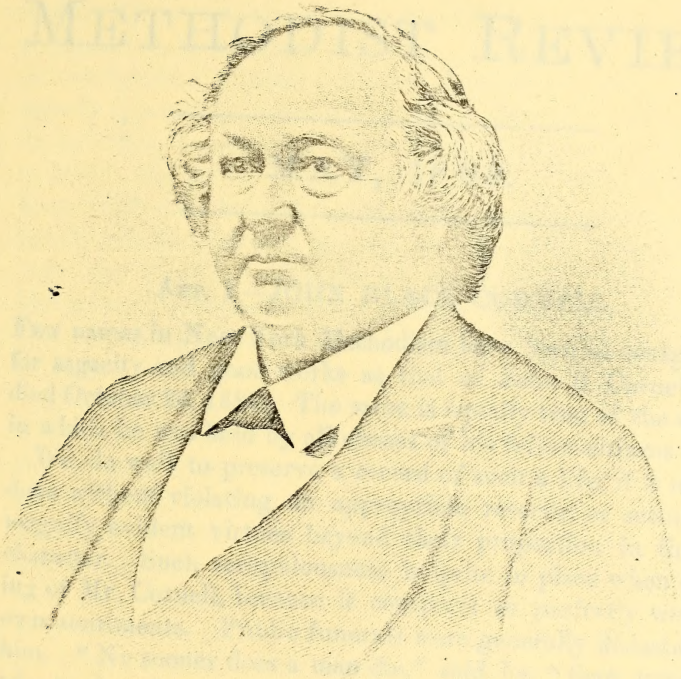

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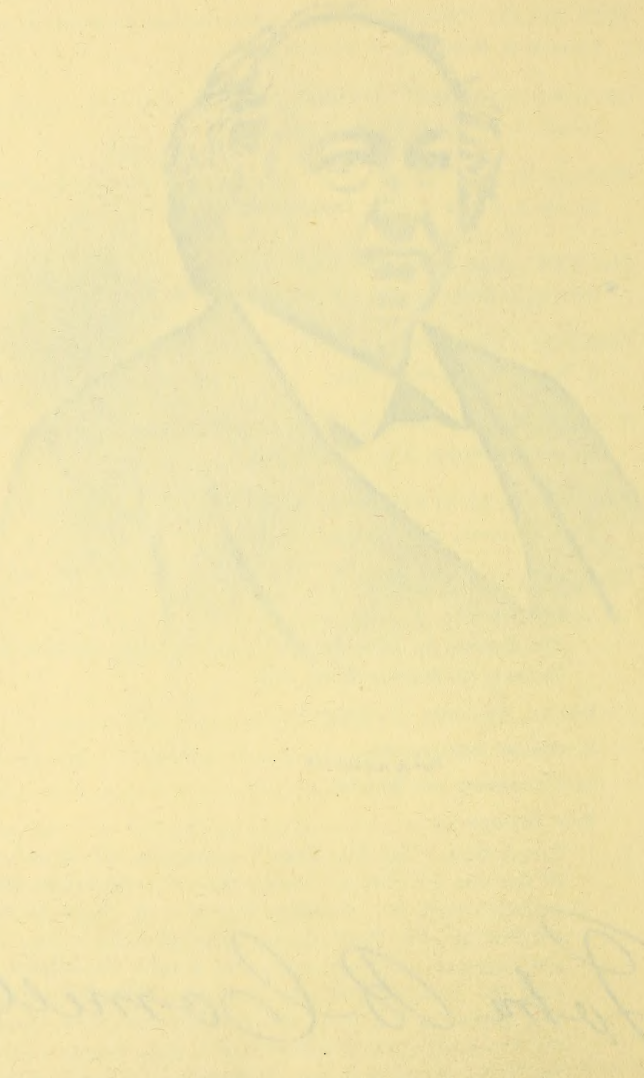

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1888.

ART. I.—JOHN BLACK CORNELL.

FEW names in New York Methodism have been so conspicuous for sagacity and good works as that of John B. Cornell, who died October 26, 1887. The same is equally true of the esteem in which he was held by all classes of his fellow-citizens.

We do well to preserve a record of such a life, if it may be done without violating an appropriate reserve, or seeming to magnify evident virtues beyond their proportion in the real character. Such scrupulousness is quite in place when speaking of Mr. Cornell, because it comports so perfectly with his own sentiments. Public funerals were generally distasteful to him. "No sooner does a man die," said he, "than some one tries to show how perfect he was. It is a great mistake. Every one has faults, and a man is no exception simply because he is dead."

Still it must be admitted that there are differences among men; and occasionally there appears one of such large sympathies, rare judgment, practical capacity, and eminent activity in the service of his fellow-men, that justice requires our recognition of the fact, while it imposes, also, a restraint upon a tendency to excessive admiration. This character is awarded to Mr. Cornell by universal consent, and fully warrants the present undertaking.

A just estimate of his influence and work must indicate, as plainly as possible, the sources of Mr. Cornell's character and strength, as well as the conditions under which he wrought. When his brother William died some picturesque rhetoric was

indulged in, showing how, from a barefoot boy coming penniless to New York, he had risen to make a place for himself among men of wealth and usefulness. If ever he or his brothers went barefoot it was for the fun of it, and not for want of shoes. They were the seventh generation of a family that had always lived on the same property. Rockaway Neck was purchased by their ancestor, Richard Cornell, in 1687. He was already a property-owner in Flushing, and one of the freeholders to whom the second English patent of the town was granted in 1685. He purchased Rockaway Neck of John Palmer, of New York, and from that time the property remained in the family till the present generation. At this time, however, only the family burial-ground is retained, being part of Mr. John B. Cornell's estate; but it holds some representative of every generation since Richard of Rockaway, who died in 1694.

His, therefore, was not an unknown lineage, nor was it obscure. His grandfather, Whitehead Cornell, was a member of the General Assembly of the State for seven years out of the eleven last preceding the year 1800; and *his* grandfather, Thomas, was in the colonial Legislature, with but two years' exception, continuously from 1739 till his death in 1764. Colonel John Cornell, a brother of this Thomas, was commander of a regiment of the Queen's County militia at the time of his death, in 1745. The uncle of these two, John Cornell, in 1702 purchased, for the sum of £600, large tracts in Rockaway, adjacent to the one hundred acres which the governor had granted to him sixteen years before; six months preceding the purchase by his father, Richard, of Rockaway Neck. It thus appears that for one hundred and thirty-six years before John B. Cornell was born, his family had been well known and influential in that part of Long Island.

That the recent members were not exceptionally gifted, in the family line, either in brains or character, may be further shown by a set of facts to which the student of heredity will not be indifferent.

Richard Cornell of Rockaway was the son of Thomas Cornell, who came from England to Boston in 1636, went to Rhode Island in 1640, and finally settled in New Amsterdam (New York) in 1642. Another son of Thomas was Samuel,

from whom are descended Ezra Cornell founder of the university at Ithaca, and his son, ex-Governor Alonzo B. Cornell. A third son of Thomas was John, from whom in lineal descent is Thomas Cornell, of Rondout, one time member of Congress, and known along the Hudson as "the steamboat king."

Two of the sisters of Richard have representatives well known to-day. Rebecca married George Woolsey in 1647, and ex-President Woolsey, of Yale College, is an illustrious representative of that branch; while Sarah, a second sister, married Thomas Willett, whose family has been one of the most respected in New York annals. By the way, this name carries us back to the arrival of Thomas Cornell from Rhode Island. He came in company with Throckmorton; and they with quite a number of others obtained from Governor Kieft a grant of what came to be called Throgg's Neck, where they proceeded to build houses in 1643. Three years later the same governor gave to Cornell the grant of the strip of land between the Bronx River and East River, and it was called Cornell's Neck. His daughter Sarah's son, Thomas Willett, inherited this property through his mother, and it has remained with the Willett family ever since, and is more commonly known as Willett's Neck. Thomas Cornell died in 1655, but his large family has carried his name, certainly without dishonor, now for more than two and a quarter centuries.

John Black Cornell was born of this honorable line, January 7, 1821, at Far Rockaway, Long Island. His mother was Hannah Hewlett, who died in 1832, leaving her husband with a family of eight children, of whom the three youngest were boys under eleven years of age; namely, John B., William W., and Harvey. John was with his uncle, William Hewlett, in Newburgh at the time of her death, and for years that fact was a great sorrow to him, for he loved her intensely. Till his latest days a tone of tenderness and reverence came into his voice when he spoke of his mother. She is represented by those who still remember her as a woman of rare Christian character and noble spirit. His memory of her was like a perfume; it certainly excited some of the finest ardors of his life. In 1839, seven years after the death of his mother, his

father died. His older brothers had already transferred their ambitions to the wider sphere of New York. His home had continued to be with his Uncle Hewlett till he was seventeen years old, when he, too, came to New York. His eldest brother, George, was at the time the head of the iron firm of Cornell, Althause & Co. Their business was to make grates, fenders, railings, safes, shutters, bedsteads, doors, etc. They were the successors to Benjamin Birdsall, with whom they had learned their trade, and who was the pioneer in this line of iron working in this country. Henry, another brother, also considerably older than John, and married, had learned the trade, and wase xecuting pieces of work under the firm with his own force of men.

John, accordingly, came to live with his brother Henry, and was apprenticed to his brother George. They were all natural mechanics. They began at the bottom. They were without capital, for though the last of the Rockaway property was not disposed of till some time later it was not available for that purpose. But they all had health, immense energy, knowledge of men, and ambition to lead. With such an inheritance, and with such auspices under which to begin the work for which he had mechanical aptitude, it would have been no small reproach if John B. Cornell had failed. And yet to have won so steady and conspicuous a success, and at the same time to have conceived such noble uses for his prosperity, is a corresponding glory.

Having learned his trade, and been for several years a sort of sub-master in executing orders, John took his younger brother, William, who had followed the family example in learning the iron business, and together they started for themselves in 1847. The precise fact is characteristic enough to be mentioned, that William remained with the old firm to earn wages for the support of his brother and himself, while John went and hired the basement of a house at 143 Centre Street, to make the trial of what could be done. A few months proved the success of their undertaking, and William joined John at the new shop. John worked rapidly, William worked neatly, and both were drivers. In the fall of that year George Cornell died. The new firm was so successful in obtaining work, and needed capital so much, that Henry, who had purchased and

removed to the Hewlett farm at Newburgh, returned and joined his brothers. They were now the only Cornell firm in the iron business, and inherited to a certain extent the prestige of George Cornell's twenty years of success and prominence in the same line. If the younger brothers had accumulated little at that time it is not to be wondered at. It is simply part of the career—one of its conditions—which they wrought out. It ran in the blood to give generously; they cared for money only for its uses; and the cause of religion or philanthropy never appealed to them in vain.

Had they lacked these fine primary impulses, though the same in all other gifts, they never would have done the work they did among men. From the end of 1847 their fortunes mounted rapidly, but their natures never changed an iota. And where is the man that knew those three brothers but will say they were noble men? Not least noble, indeed, the eldest, who is quite unknown to fame. Henry was the theologian of the three. John was the calculating one, the far-sighted, the inventor—and the heretic, too, if he saw fit to be. William was the warm-hearted, the open-handed, the alluring one. He never could refuse child or friend any thing. He would take a man out of the gutter and hand him money to buy clean clothes with, and not count the money, either. Henry was gentle but trenchant; John was dignified but reliable; William was popular but steady-nerved. They were, all three, men who took delight in helping good things; and they early resolved to devote a large proportion of their earnings to Christian work.

Mrs. Wright says that those three young men really gave the first effectual start to the rebuilding of the "Old Brewery." At a meeting in her house, when the Five Points Mission was just at the beginning, it was decided to purchase the Old Brewery, and Mr. Worrall was authorized to see what money could be raised for a new building. There was but little done, however, for two or three months, and the ladies were somewhat discouraged. On New Year's day John B. Cornell was calling upon her, and inquired how the building fund was getting on. As he left he put into her hands some slips of paper folded up, saying, that his brothers and himself wanted to help some in it; and to her delight on opening the papers

she found three checks for $500 each. "With that encouragement," she says, "we went ahead, and got the money and our new building."

Henry, in time, returned to his Newburgh farm; but his brothers, aided by his capital, drove ahead, taking every thing that offered which they were able to handle creditably. In 1856 they added a foundry to their plant; for iron working must include iron building too, and the day of iron fronts was at hand.

Let it be observed here that these men have never been without able competitors. George R. Jackson, an apprentice also with Cornell and Althause, established himself in business about the time they did, and was from the first an important rival. The Ætna Iron Company and Architectural Iron Works, were likewise competitors. It is safe to say, however, that from the beginning no iron workers have enjoyed a higher reputation for dispatch, thoroughness and reliability than this same firm, of which John B. Cornell was, for forty years, the head. Their business increased with the development of iron working in England and America. Inventions in apparatus, and in application of the metal, he counted by scores. Nothing was too small for them to do well, and nothing too great for them to be intrusted with. From a coal cover to the turret and armor of a warship; from a lamp-post to an elevated railroad; from a piece of railing to the most superb wrought iron gates upon the continent; from an area fence to the noblest stores, hotels, and office buildings ever produced, either here or in Canada, in Mexico or in South America, they could do any thing; they did every thing; and they were probably without superiors in the world. It was more than success, it was triumph; and it was clearly wrought out from orderly, alert, courageous, and masterful qualities of hand and brain, of nerve and character.

It is an occasion for gratitude, the round world over, that the remarkable abilities of J. B. Cornell were, from his youth, modulated by religious emotion and directed under Christian principle. That mother's hand was ever on his heart-strings, and from his boyhood it awoke betimes a soft, sad music of longing and hope within his breast. Greene Street Methodist Episcopal Church became, from the first, his home, and Joseph Longking's Youth's

Bible Class his particular delight. He was soon recognized as one of the "reliables" of the class. Already his characteristics were marked; thoughtful, thorough, fearless. He took up with no opinion hastily—always studied a subject till he had a reason to give for his conclusion; and then had "the courage of his convictions," even if he stood alone. He was a champion of Millerism, when that craze was at its height, and could appeal to well-accepted principles of interpretation in defense of his position. He was also one of a few ardent Abolitionists, though the pastor and most of the leading men in the church were intensely anti-Abolitionist. Mr. Longking declined to take sides; but he never heeded the directions of the pastor to turn the Abolitionists out of the class—rather did all he could to hold them. He gave permission to put certain antislavery books into the class library; and John was a sort of lieutenant to see that the books were read. It was a great class in many ways. They expected every one who joined it to be converted within six months. John B. Cornell was not a professor of religion when he entered the class, but he was thinking and praying. One day an old negro, whose acquaintance he had made going to and from his work, said to him, "Be you a Christian, honey?" "I don't know," was the honest answer. "No right not to know, honey. Master Jesus pays them that serves him, and they knows it." That word stuck to him, and from that time he could not rest till he was a Christian and knew it.

I have said it is matter for universal gratitude that so early John B. Cornell came under the molding power of religious experience. It affected and regulated his whole being, and has sent its blessings out into all lands. I do not mean chiefly his gifts to the funds of religion and education; though for a man who never was rich, who lived as freely as he gave, and who brought up a large family, his liberality was truly magnificent. But his religious experience consecrated something greater than his purse, and that was his personality, with all his natural gifts and possibilities. His quick sense of opportunity and the scale of his aims were more inspiring than the measure of his generosity. He had a magnetism which young and old felt as soon as he gave himself up to them. He was a distinguished-looking man;

his frown was big and dark, but his smile was like an open door full of sunlight; his humor was kind, and as merry as running water. The clasp of his hand, and the tone of his voice were like velvet in gentleness; his courage was like a regiment, and his counsels championed the best of things. It was hard to cajole him, and impossible to frighten him. He was a man that those close to him loved to work with; he called out their best. He rarely disappointed them; he led surely or could follow solidly, and he drew elements of power with him.

Now this grew largely out of a gift and a habit to which I have already alluded as early characteristics, and which increased in thoroughness and widened in scope as his life matured. I mean the gift of close analysis, and the habit of long-sustained reflection, till his conclusions were clear and true to the best light he had. If he detected a flaw no one could be readier to revise his position than Mr. Cornell. Throughout life he was slow to express opinions upon new questions. In matters of business, of church, of politics, where he had full knowledge of the subject, his conclusions would be quick and clear, and his sagacity at times almost an inspiration; but his opinions were carefully formed before he had any to give. The unmistakably great influence he wielded in the general boards of the Church, as the Book Committee, the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, and the General Committee on Missions, arose chiefly from this fact: that to an extent greater than most men he thought and studied upon the business of the board. For weeks, every evening he could command would be given to examining reports, comparing the methods of different societies, securing all the information within his reach, and then he thought and thought, till he had considered, it would seem, almost every possible phase of the subject, and reached a conclusion satisfactory to his own mind. Then he could state it in few words and give the reasons for its figures, facts, precedents, in a way to enlist confidence and co-operation.

Twice Mr. Cornell was sent as lay delegate to the General Conference; namely, in 1872 and 1876. He was not dwarfed by contact with the picked men of the denomination. Not less distinguished in the Church than most of them, none were

more industrious than he, and few commanded more respect for their opinions and recommendations.

In his own city he was member of various undenominational boards of management, as the Hebrew institution for the Improved Instruction of Deaf Mutes, and the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society. He was also chairman of the Advisory Board of Saint Christopher's Home for Children of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and chairman both of the Building Committee and of the Advisory Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church Home for Aged Members of the Church. The newly equipped house for the former on Riverside Drive and the superb building for the latter on Tenth Avenue are both largely indebted to his labors and liberalities.

Perhaps the two spheres in which Mr. Cornell will be longest remembered, for invaluable service to the Church and the world, are as President of the New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society, and President of the Board of Trustees of Drew Seminary. It would be almost impossible to think of a man who by prudence and courage, by liberality and good judgment, could have served the seminary with greater delight to those associated with him, or more lasting benefit to the institution. It is frequently remarked that he, more than any other man, made possible the renewal of the endowment after Mr. Drew had fallen under his severe financial reverses. He was himself disposed to say that the grand gift of Mr. A. V. Stout, of $40,000, did more than any thing else to put heart into the seminary. It was not, however, a matter of great gifts chiefly, but of smaller ones coming singly and slowly; and there was always a large deficit staring them in the face. Mr. Cornell had the love for the seminary which caused him to put himself squarely behind it from the very beginning of the disaster, and that gave to other skillful men the courage and sense of security they needed, while they pushed the vast undertaking of raising an endowment and meeting current expenses at the same time.

The last work of his love at Madison, and one in which all the generous men who stood by him felt that they were followers in the admirable enthusiasm of their president, was the noble building which stands among lofty trees to hold safe the

treasures of the invaluablel ibrary. Among the men, great and good, whose names will long live at that sheltered seat of sacred learning, Cornell will surely have a place.

There remains the other sphere of activity—The New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church—in which his name has gained such distinction, and where his influence and achievements effected such lasting advantages to society. For almost fourteen years he was at the head of the organization. In New York this means to be at the head of all the Church's missionary and church extension work in the city. Only one new church in the last twenty-three years has been established independently of this society. When Mr. J. B. Cornell was elected president of the society, in 1872, it was much against his inclinations and convictions. He had felt the loss of his brother very greatly. He knew very well what a brilliant record William had made in the office now offered to himself. For two years Mr. Andrew V. Stout had taken the burden, and the financial condition of the society was excellent; but a field of growing urgency called for wisdom and effort of the highest sort. He shrank from the responsibility. He held it in abeyance for some time, but at length, as the result of much prayer and deepening conviction, he accepted the trust. Then all his characteristic qualities appeared. His own business never received more earnest study than the work of the society. Soon he knew all that any one did, and more than most, of each separate part of the work. He studied the distribution of population, and of Church and Sunday-school facilities, as no one seemed to have done. He was clear in his ideas of what should be undertaken, urgent to secure decisions, sanguine as to the means, liberal, but not impulsive or extravagant, counting on the aid of all the churches, and setting a noble example, and at the same time always ardent for spiritual results. If there was any criticism of his management, it bore chiefly on the positiveness with which he advocated new undertakings. His courage and earnestness, and his known willingness to give largely to any thing which he undertook, were so bewitching that men could hardly resist him.

That he was not at all eager to wield an irresponsible authority was effectually illustrated in connection with what we,

in New York commonly call the Church Property Law. That law was designed to put a restraint upon the mortgaging or sale of church property. He had not been consulted in regard to the matter until a bill for the purpose was already drafted. Then his opinion was desired. "Let me ask one question first," said he: "Does the law apply to the property held by our society" (the City Church Extension Society) "as well as to other Church property?" "It does." "Then I'm in favor of it. We all need watching, and we've needed just such a law for a long time." The work steadily grew. For several years the expenses of the society were from $100,000 to $125,000, according to building enterprises undertaken. Six of the down-town churches, hopelessly running behind in their finances, came under the patronage of the society. Five new churches were established, two old points had to be abandoned, six churches became self-supporting and independent.

He found, on entering upon the office, twelve missions and schools under the society's charge; and when he resigned because of failing health there were twenty churches and missions. Twenty-five thousand scholars had been gathered into the schools. Five thousand conversions had taken place in the chapels. $250,000 had been invested in Church property, and over $1,300,000 had been spent in the current work of the society. He found $164,000 worth of property, and he left $830,000 worth, with but $114,000 of indebtedness upon the whole of it.

One would scarcely infer to what extent the years of his connection with this Society had been years of growth and change in Mr. Cornell himself. There was always a touch of the aristocrat in John B. Cornell. He was never the free and hearty democrat that his brother was. In the days when Mr. Longking sent out his scholars to mission work, the cordial and zealous William was one of the first to be made a superintendent. John worked in a more reserved and sober way. Later, too, he was regarded as an ambitious Methodist. He believed in fine churches and fine locations for them. The well known point between Broadway and Fifth Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street, facing the Worth Monument, he at one time, in company with several others, purchased for the site of a new Methodist Church. They desired Randolph S. Foster, then finishing a

pastorate in town, to be appointed financial agent for the new enterprise, but Bishop Janes objected that it was contrary to Discipline to continue the popular preacher another term in the city, and it ought not to be done even as financial agent. This plan falling through, they offered the plot of ground to the Mulberry Street people, who were about to move up town. The proposition was not accepted, and St. Paul's was built at Twenty-second Street and Fourth Avenue instead. Still later, Mr. Cornell's heart was set on seeing a fine church built on Fifth Avenue, and that was the design in founding St. Luke's Church. But before the time was ripe for that undertaking he was chosen President of the City Church Extension Society, and he distinctly faced the fact that to accept that office was to surrender once for all his ambition in the other line. Not that he gave up all desire to see a new and fine church above Forty-second Street; for that, indeed, he did not. He heartily subscribed, and with liberality beyond any one else, to the new Madison Avenue Church. He believed such a church was needed, and he believed that, properly started, it would always be a most important supporter of local and connectional work in Methodism. But when he looked forward to a Fifth Avenue church he expected it would cost him at least $100,000. This receded into the region of dreams unrealized, and more and more his heart was drawn out to the poor and the neglected. He saw the coming peoples, and wanted the Methodist Church to meet them in the new sections with open doors and fitting places of worship. With these master sympathies he bore the society onward to new investments, and often large expenditures, and was exultant in every forward movement. Latterly he had thought much of reducing or canceling the debt of the society, but he would prefer at any time that the Church should pay rent in form of interest, as business men do, rather than not discharge its duty to living and dying men. He clung to the society after ill health forced him to resign his office of president, and to the last no voice was more tender and eloquent than his, in behalf of those who were unable to protect or shepherd their own tempted and imperiled souls.

No one should think of Mr. Cornell as a great talker or a lengthy speaker at any time. In the judgment, however, of

many who knew him intimately he was a man of singularly statesmanlike views on public questions, with a mind disciplined to work with rare sincerity, and as rare modesty and courage. The half dozen learned and eloquent men who knew him best would be the first to acknowledge what high value they attached to his criticisms and judgments; and men eminent in the legal profession have repeatedly said that, in critical points, his appreciation of the principles of law and his suggestions for procedure were of unusual value. The most notable things about him, therefore, were those which went on in his head, rather than through his hands; not what he did, but his reasons for doing them, and the spirit in which he did them. The manner of his giving, for instance, was more significant than his gift. Said one who knew him closely for many years, "He was the only man I ever knew that you never had to persuade to give. Before you had finished your statement he was ready to help, and he surprised you by giving more than you hoped for." Asked, one time, by a pastor if he might send a certain man to him, if his case seemed a good one, he answered, "Certainly, send him down—send any one down that you think well of. I'll hear the case and judge for myself. It might be something I'd not like to be out of, you know." No man ever heard him speak of applicants for money as "beggars." He had no meanness to cover up with an epithet of contempt, and no vanity to indulge at the expense of another man.

But his standard of usefulness was a very high one. "Rich men have a great responsibility to answer for," he said. "As a rule, I believe they ought to give away at least as much as it costs them to live. After a man is able to take care of his family respectably in his rank of life, I doubt if he should increase his expense of living till he has brought his giving up to the same figure. Then let both increase together, if he sees fit; but never economize in his gifts till he is willing to cut his expenses down at the same rate." And yet his own earnestness never made him severe in judging others. "Men don't realize what they lose in keeping out of things. A good cause can afford to do without our help a great deal better than we can afford to let it."

He was no miracle of generosity in his own eyes. "Many

people give away more than I do. I never yet gave my coat, or the horse from my coupé, or the roast from my table; but I saw people to-day give clear down into their comforts, and their necessities, even, for a year to come." "If men would give of their surplus half as freely as they use it up, we should have five millions a year for missions, and five more for home work." Mr. Cornell was not simply a conscientious man in the dividend which he set apart for benevolent work yearly; he was also a man of active and powerful sympathies in the same line. "The bread famine," as it was called, proved the force and constancy of his sympathies. When that distress was at its height, daily, at noon, he hurried from his work and stood at the door of the Five Points Mission to give, to the scores who came, orders for bread, signed with his own name. The tax was a heavy one, but he determined to see it through, if possible, and he did.

With well-defined principles of this sort there went a gentleness of nature quite in keeping. Sagacious and worldly-wise, but approachable and "easy to be entreated" was Mr. Cornell. Toward all women, rich or poor, his deference and courtesy were singularly unfailing. But nowhere was this spirit so marked as when women in trouble came to ask aid or advice. He sat and listened with his great eyes full of kindness, or pinched up, thinking something out. Every thing at his desk stood still; perhaps half a dozen men were waiting for a decision, or a moment's attention. His powers of concentration and judgment were at the moment enlisted for her. He entered straight into her trouble; it was just as large to him as it was to her; and when she was through his word was just the kindest, the wisest, and strongest that his honest, gentle heart could utter. She went away helped, and his soul was happy. He was not so reckless with men, but to women his chivalrous soul went out always. Perhaps it was the mother he never could forget.

Of course, such a man was the grandest sort of friend. How many are sailing on sunny seas to-day because he helped to launch them, or rescued them from the breakers! Men are living, more than two or three, whom he has served with a steadfastness and versatility, a dignity and unselfishness, not often surpassed. In early life he studied things, in later

life he studied men. Then he defended ideas, later he defended individuals. The keenness with which he penetrated into the motives of men, the power of holding many facts in the steady light of his knowledge of human nature, went far, also, to explain the ardor and courage and volume of his championship. All his great resources were at the disposal of a friend, and with most absolute disregard of what might be the cost to himself.

His tireless zeal in defending innocence or thwarting injustice was simply magnificent. He was a modest man, and yet had the most perfect confidence in his own mental working. No one could be more loath to misjudge a fellow-being; but when he had calmly heard all of both sides, and looked all parties in the eyes, it never once occurred to him that his judgment was not as good as that of any living man, and vastly better than most men's, and always better than that of a partisan. And hence, with a sagacity not infallible, but utterly unbaffled, while men talked he appealed from the things they said in words to the things they said in tones and tempers and in the logic of their casual admissions. Then, the power by which he studied his business, or the policies of great societies, was the power by which he studied the cause of his friend. It was all sided, minute, comprehensive. Marvelously would he forecast the tactics of malice, and the issue was quite likely to vindicate the skill as well as the ardor of his friendship.

Such loyalty to a friend was in keeping with his magnanimity toward an enemy. He was not indifferent or easy-going with any kind of wrong. He could despise a mean act as definitely as he honored a noble one. But even then his resentment was dignified and self-respecting. A man who repeatedly disappointed him came to feel his displeasure only by his utter silence. He simply dropped a false man. But in respect of all personal injury he was magnanimous and gentle. It happened at one time, during a period of considerably depressed health, that an anonymous communication was published, denouncing him by name, and invoking with wicked plausibility, the contempt and indignation of his fellow-citizens against him. His friends felt outraged, and he was grievously hurt. Not long afterward, by the merest accident, he learned who

the writer was, and that it was a person whom his family and himself were likely to meet not infrequently. Strange to say, he could never be induced to tell who it was; not to his nearest friend, not to any member of his family. It would do no good, he said, only make disagreeable relations, and, for aught he knew, the person was sorry for it already. Such were his peculiar thoughtfulness, his magnanimity, and his power of reserve in a case of exceptional provocation.

No sketch of Mr. Cornell's life would be complete at all without a statement of his attitude upon the temperance question. It is the subject upon which his convictions were as strong at the close of his life as they had been upon slavery at the beginning of it. He was for several years a very pronounced prohibitionist. He did not regard the buying, selling, or using of wines and liquors as necessarily a sin; but he said the present authorized traffic in them was the parent of an infinite number of sins; it was an economic blunder, and a shameful wrong. Under the cover of liberty it scattered broadcast the worst destructives known to the modern world. Far better, he said, could we afford a daily dynamite outrage in the town than to permit this feature of our times to continue. He looked for a joining of all good citizens against intemperance and corrupt government. A mighty uplifting of the mass of mankind would follow the enforcement of sobriety. Nothing else could ever lead to the just distribution of the gains of industry. The prohibition movement ought to be joined, he thought, not by teetotalers only, but by all men who are willing to see the traffic destroyed in the interests of humanity. But while he kept his eye on the true end of the agitation he was happy to seize any advantage possible on the way, and a year or two ago he signed the petition for the proposed high license bill in the New York Legislature. He was a third party man at the time of his death, in the same sense that he had been a Republican during most of his previous life; by no means approving of all that its managers prescribed, but thinking for himself always, and acting upon his own judgment in specific issues. But its aims were among his most intense longings for the good of humanity. Rum and religious destitution were in his judgment the two great foes to human happiness; and men should prohibit the one and make provision for

the other as the very first steps toward protecting and saving mankind.

He was a devout, humble, trustful, and in general a joyous Christian. Utterly free from any thing like cant, there was yet no time when a friend would be surprised to hear him utter the strong sentiments of Christian duty or Christian privilege which were ruling so much of his own life. The most memorable characteristic of his manner will always be that whether in conversation, in home worship, or in the language of religious testimony at the weekly prayer-service, his tones and words were profoundly, manfully, richly devout. His face at the holy communion was often a perfect rapture of gratitude and adoration.

Speaking doubtfully of his state of health the Wednesday before his death, he was reminded how sick he had been several years before, and how completely he had recovered. He replied, "Well, I am content, whichever way it is to be." It was his life-long faith, ripened into peaceful resignation and unwavering trust.

There are three ways at least in which one of large nature may live greatly and take permanent place in the world's movement. He may unobtrusively swell the volume of existing agencies, and send their streams to remoter shores; he may inaugurate new forms of usefulness, and by his own energy carry them to completion, and make the world his debtor for accomplished facts; or he may so illustrate a noble type of living as to appeal to the imaginations of men, create a new standard of usefulness, and thus, living after he is dead, help other men also to live on the nobler plan. Judged discriminately by either test, John B. Cornell lived a great life, and his works will follow him.

CHARLES S. HARROWER.

Art. II.—LOTZE'S PHILOSOPHY.*

When Lotze commenced his work as a philosopher the speculative systems of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Cousin, Comte, and Reid, together with the schools they represented, had made their impress, if they had not spent their force, upon that age, and Darwin, Spencer, the Mills, father and son, representing another class of thinkers, had gained the attention of the public ear. It appeared to him that philosophy as a whole was in a transition state; that it existed only in incoherent fragments, that it was grossly materialistic, atheistic, and without fruit. Contemporary writers, in the spirit of well-booted and finely spurred knights, had performed their brilliant tournaments in different fields, and with the shouts of the rabble in their ears had retired, perhaps to prepare for other exploits.

If philosophy was charged with any peculiar responsibilities, if it had any serious work to do or mission to fulfill, in the unification of knowledge and the elevation of the human intellect, it appeared to him that it was very derelict in the performance of its duty.

The world was then making rapid advancement in the arts and sciences, inventions and discoveries were multiplying, and the human mind was realizing substantial progress in knowledge; but no one appeared who seemed to possess the time, patience, and ability necessary to work up this material in a religious spirit into a complete philosophic system. The theories which had been constructed by his predecessors were in his judgment either so wide of the reality of things, or so limited in their application, as to be of but little practical value. Fragments of science in the form of monographs were strewn thickly around him, and many of these had made upon his mind abiding impressions. The basal facts of physics, chemistry, physiology, anatomy, and psychology seemed to be established beyond controversy, and the questions to be settled referred to the scope of their significance and their relation to each other. Lotze did not, like Descartes, Locke, Kant, and

* *Microcosmus: An Essay Concerning Man and his Relation to the World.* By Herman Lotze.

Reid, set out as an original investigator; but rather, he took the material furnished to his hands by the labors of his predecessors, and wrought it into what purports to be an all-comprehensive and ever-enduring system of philosophy. He was not, however, like Cousin, an eclectic, nor did he attempt "harmonies" and "reconciliations," but he wrote as an independent system-builder. His faith seems to be steady and abiding that revelation, when correctly understood, embraces many elements of natural law, yet occupies a field of its own; touches upon some of the sciences here and there, but in the main transcends all science, and is never identical with it, and never at war with it. He enters upon his work in the true spirit of inquiry which leads the searcher after truth to care for nothing but the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. Whether it agree or not with revelation or with any other accredited system of truth he does not make any of his concern. He believes that knowledge is possible, that it *per se* is of supreme value, and that its own pure light is to be accepted as an only and sufficient guide.

Lotze's philosophy is an attempt to answer the questions, What is nature, and what is man's position in it? As a part of nature, man properly is made to occupy a conspicuous place in this speculative system. Our author is bold and independent in his discussions of the great variety of topics which come up for consideration, and yet in building his philosophic structure he is never the fortunate discoverer of any thing new, nor does he ever become the plodding delver in the lower strata of truth. The real object of his writing was the laudable one of counteracting the agnosticism and materialism which had been in part transported from France and England into Germany. He first expends more than one thousand pages in putting such a construction upon nature as would open and prepare the way for presenting his own conceptions of man and his relation to his Creator. We think that by a reconstruction of the argument, defining at the start the main point to be proved, its clearness would be greatly increased; but in our brief notice of this very elaborate production an attempt will be made only to seize upon such crucial points for examination as will enable us to form a correct and comprehensive view of the system as a whole, and should it break down beneath the burden of its own absurdities the fault will not be ours. Our quotations from

his long sentences and tedious paragraphs will be made as brief as possible. He seldom draws his bow and, in Attic style, sends an arrow directly to its mark. His way of writing is rather that which school-boys practice in the formation of huge snow-balls. A nucleus is formed, and as this is rolled about in all directions it gathers up snow, straws, chips, bark, grass, leaves, sticks, and any thing else found in its sinuous pathway. Hence, for the sake of brevity, we may dissect some of his tortuous periods, and cut out of them the passages which are germane to the argument, but we shall quote sufficiently to represent with absolute fidelity his views on all crucial points in his own language.

As seen in the title-page, "Man and His Relation to the World" are happily regarded as the beginning and the center of this as they should be of every system of philosophy. To know man as an intelligence, to know the nature and range of his vast and varied powers, are preliminary steps to a knowledge of the realms of ideas he may explore and the systems of thought he may be able to construct out of them. His recognition of material nature as subject to mechanical and chemical law, so far as applied in the field of physics, will pass without objections from any source; but as he neither defines nor puts limits upon its powers the investigation is not complete, hence very defective. Matter is left as a reservoir of uncertain capacity from which, on occasion, may be drawn whatever is needed to furnish a fact or complete an argument. He then says:

> Hardly ever has any serious attempt been made to withdraw inorganic nature from the mechanical conception; a longer resistance was made to bringing organized beings also under it. But the same reasons compel us to admit it here too. Animals and plants produce neither from themselves nor from nothing the substances through whose aggregation their outward form grows, etc.—Page 20.

We are here taught that organic structures, whether animal or vegetable, are the products of mechanical law. As this is one of the fundamental postulates of this philosophy, never to be lost sight of, it will be well for us to give it still further the benefit of the author's exposition:

> And when the required material has, within the living body, to be brought into the forms required by the plan of the organi-

zation, it will just as little accommodate itself to this conformation. On the contrary, like every weight to be moved, it will expect to see its particles pushed into the required position by means of definite amounts of propelling force exerted by definite masses, according to the same universal mechanical laws that likewise regulate the movements of inorganic bodies.—Page 21.

We find ourselves compelled on the start squarely to join issue with the basal position of our German savant's philosophy. We hold that fundamentally his mechanical conception of organic bodies is wrong—wholly wrong—and that nature does not furnish a fact for its support. Lotze here enters the realm of transcendental metaphysics, in which, according to Kant, solid footing can be found nowhere. When a philosopher, at will or convenience, ignores the teachings of the external world, and the inferences logically deduced therefrom, and dispenses with experience, he is at liberty to teach what he pleases, for he can both prove and disprove any thing. If in the study of Lotze's metaphysics this fact is not forgotten its true value will appear. In explanation of his theory he teaches that "the living principles" which "animate organism" "are at all times due to the forces inherent in the elementary particles." According to this notion, matter, on occasion, is vital, and capable of self-organization. Let us for a moment consider a human body as a sample of self-organized matter. What is it? "Dust," answers revelation, and its truthfulness has been demonstrated by science a thousand times. The human body is composed of matter, and nothing but matter, which is neither better nor worse than the ground on which we tread; and this dust or dirt in being wrought into a human organism experiences no change of essence, nature, or properties. No kind of matter can change or be changed by the loss, acquisition, or modification of a property. The matter of this globe is now exactly what it has ever been.

But what shall we call common dust when wrought into that marvelous structure, the human body? A mass, a lump, a compound, a chemical mixture, a chemical union, or a mechanism? No, for it is none of these. Considered as a ponderable substance it is nothing but dirt; considered as a body it is a wonderfully complicated structure. Its separate parts or organs, nerves included, amount to an unknown number of millions.

The following kinds of matter, with the percentage of each, are used by a vital agent and wrought into the human organism: oxygen, 72 per cent.; carbon, 13.5; hydrogen, 9.1; nitrogen, 2.5; calcium, 1.3; phosphorus, 1.15, and of fluorine, chlorine, sulphur, sodium, potassium, iron, silicon, magnesium, and aluminium there are small fractions. More than ninety-nine per cent. of the stuff which is wrought into the body is oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus, and calcium. These are the most abundant and common kinds of matter. They can work themselves into lumps, masses, stones, water, colloids, crystals, jellies, but not even with the help of any human genius can they be worked into the structure of the human eye, hollow arteries and veins, an engine or pump-like heart, knitted bones, microscopic nerves, or even the simplest vegetable tissue. I venture the assertion that the most hardy materialist living would blush to confess that he believes that matter is endowed with power mechanically to perform any such feat.

If, then, the human body is not the product of the forces inherent in its elementary particles acting according to mechanical law, how came it to exist? I answer for myself: It must be the product of a human life—the life which still actuates it, and without which the "particles" speedily go back to their condition of dust again. The animating life is the body-builder and preserver. It knits the bones, spins the fibers and nerves, weaves the tissues, and puts the different parts of the structure together according to the original plan and direction of the Creator of all. As the body was built by its life, so its continuance as an organism is dependent upon the abiding and imperial power of its life. Though each of the thirteen kinds of matter which enters the body is unchanged in nature or essence, the physical, chemical, and mechanical forces of each atom become subordinated to the higher forces of life. With food just taken into the stomach, with worn-out and broken-down parts of the system not yet eliminated, and with gangrenous or mortified parts, physical and chemical laws prevail, but the sway of such laws is limited to particles which are not parts of the organism. Oxygen from the air carries to the iron of the blood its peculiar properties, but the guardian presence of life is there, and it forbids that these elements should so unite as to

form rust or the oxide of iron. Chlorine and hydrogen exist in the body together, and these elements are *per se* there what they are every-where else, but because life possesses control they do not unite and form muriatic acid; and in like manner carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus, and all other substances composing the human body are firmly held in place and relation by the sway of its all-pervading life. The *independent* action of mechanical and chemical law cannot be detected in any healthy organism. As only thirteen substances belong to the body, is not the presence of other substances, or of these in improper proportions, asserting, as they *then* would, physical law, often the cause of death?

But what is this life which we call the body-builder? Lotze ignores it wholly, as follows:

> In place of the vital impulse, animating as with a breath the composite and variously formed whole, it [philosophy] puts the simple and indestructible forces which perpetually inhere in the elements; and it has extended the clear and definite mode of conception of *mechanical* physical science over the whole domain of nature.—Page 22.

Let it be noted that Lotze makes no attempt to give any direct answer to the question, What is life? but he summarily ignores it as any part of nature, and what is popularly called life he ascribes to the atoms of matter. Now, the vast and complex organic world is too huge and too palpable a fact to allow the mind to be satisfied with such a disposal of this question. Matter, *per se*, is so well and so fully known that the attempt to ascribe to it vital force appears like an imposition and a fraud. Why is it that such dense obscurity must ever rest upon the question of vitality? I answer: The most persistent and dogged attempts are constantly being made to conceive it as different from what it is. Life has not been allowed to speak for itself through its phenomena, and thus to pass for what it is, *as seen in what it does*, our *only* way of knowing it.

In further explanation of "the mechanism of life," our author teaches "that the peculiarities of its evolution will be due wholly to the complete obedience with which it submits to the laws of the universal course of nature." Now, the basal elements of this philosophy are found in the unexplained expression, "course of nature," and others intended to be of a

similar purport, such as "order of nature," "universal laws of the course of nature," etc. The content of these expressions constitutes the very core of this philosophy, and it plagues us to be compelled to pass them by in ignorance of their significance. It would not be difficult for us to explain the meaning we should attach to the expression "order of nature," but Lotze fails even to make the attempt. We hold that the lowest plane of being known to us is composed of different kinds of matter, the next above this is a world of vitality, above this is placed the high and vast realm of intellect, and at the summit is the spiritual world. Each element in each plane of being has properties and forces of its own; the different planes are correlated to each other, but never run into each other. But such view of nature Lotze would repudiate; and certainly at this stage of the unfolding of his philosophy he gives us nothing of his own except expressions of sonorous sound. It is passing strange that a philosopher can be content to advance mere words where ideas are in imperious demand.

The following quotation will place Lotze's views of life quite beyond respect, if not patience:

> Why should we not, from the phenomenon of death, rather draw the conclusion that the activity of life can last only so long as the chemical composition of the body yields the necessary conditions; and that the corruption of death is nothing else than a disturbance of that composition, which has now become visible, but by which, perhaps long since, though less obviously, the conditions of life have become affected.

Was it of Lotze that George H. Lewes borrowed the expression "conditions" of life, which he flaunted before the world as a great discovery? The argument is that the thirteen kinds of matter above enumerated, by the inherent force of the particles, wrought themselves into the human body, then took to living, then to thinking, and continued these exercises till the "chemical conditions" failed, and then this dirt, having played the part of a Napoleon, Shakespeare, or Demosthenes, left palaces and took its place in the street again. This word "conditions" signifies nothing, or any thing you please. When we speak of the "conditions" of health, of a harvest, and of many other things, the signification of the word is apparent; but the "conditions of life" as the *result* of "chemical composition"

is a mystery which we defy any philosophy to explain, and we refuse to be imposed upon by the word. Thus we have followed Lotze through his wearisome pages; and in every case where he reaches a crucial point in the exposition of the "mechanism of life," where the mind craves an idea, an argument, a truth, or a fact, as a foundation or a link in a chain, some unmeaning expression, as "nature," "laws of nature," "course of nature," "universal laws of nature," "conditions," "order," "mode," "force" with nothing to exert it, is given us as a substitute. Is this strong materialistic ground occupied by our Christian author for the purpose of showing that it is not inconsistent with religion? If so, Lotze outherods Herod to prove that Herod was a Christian.

Another trouble in the philosophy of the "mechanism of life" arises from the use of the expression, "chemical transmutations," signifying that we are not through with the alchemy of the Arabs of the Middle Ages. Now, the exact truth is, *no one thing can be transmuted into another*, and especially is this true of the elements of material nature. No one atom can become another atom by transmutation, nor by any other means, and matter in an organism is exactly what it was out of the organism. There is not in all nature, organic or inorganic, a fact, a truth, or a reality of any kind which can give the least significance to the expression "chemical transmutations;" hence it must be relegated back to the other forms of speech which are used as substitutes for ideas, signifying nothing. Lotze, more than any other philosopher except Bain, has given form and plausibility to the speculations known as "physiological psychology," and to that extent he has served as an ally to materialists. Now, if nature yields no such substance as mental matter, or material mind, and transmutation is never a fact, then there can be no possible basis for such a science as a "physiological psychology." To be correctly understood, physiology must be examined as such, and all things else excluded; and to understand psychology as it is, its purity must not be corrupted by the mixture of any material or foreign element; and when our knowledge of both psychology and physiology, as separate sciences, is complete, we may, as another and different study, inquire into the reciprocal relations of mind and body.

As we advance with Lotze into the intellectual and spiritual realms, our dissent from his philosophy becomes more intense, and if possible more practical. Let us consider the following:

As soon as we know that the general economy of the universe requires yearly a certain average of crime just as much as a certain average of temperature, we can hardly help seeing even in intellectual life the unbroken sequence of a blind mechanism. Like the outer world in its perpetual revolution, our mental life, too, must be but a vortex of movements kept going by the incessant action and reaction of the countless atoms of our nervous system. We have advanced far beyond the child-like ingenuousness of mythological conceptions; we have not only given up personal nature spirits, but made the possibility *of any sort* of *personal existence one of the darkest of problems.* Inclosed within the great machine of nature stands the smaller machine of the human mind, more cunningly framed than any other, inasmuch as it is aware of its own movements, and watches with admiration those of the other toy; yet some day *its parts, too, will fall asunder,* and it will be all over with the jest and the earnest, the love and the hatred, by which this strange world is moved.—Page 25.

A further quotation will be necessary to complete Lotze's conception of the mind:

We once again take for granted, in the multitudinous connected atoms of the body, that internal *psychic life* which, according to the view from which we started, *must be attributed to all matter.* Now let a common sensory stimulus, as before a motor impulse, act on all at once, we can yet seek the rising *sensation* nowhere else than in the *interior* of each *single atom.*—Page 161.

In vain have we examined different parts of this philosophy to find something which answered to our own conceptions of the human mind. Mind is generally conceived as a link in the chain of nature, mechanically controlled in its action by its antecedents, and subject to a common law of necessity. We regard mind as the man proper, as a true subject, possessing complete individuality—a self-contained and self-directing actor, and responsible for his conduct.

But the pantheistic or monistic philosopher will charge that in holding to the individuality and sovereignty of mind we undeify the Almighty, as we put into the field a rival individual self-centered existence. To this we answer, 1. God exercises his sovereignty over man as a part of the universe by preserving to him the limited sovereignty which constitutes the

base of his responsibility. 2. Most effectually do we undeify the Almighty when we ignore man as a subject, and make God the author of all human conduct. God is God, and the creation of the universe was *no addition* to his person. Man is man, and he is as complete in his personality as God is in his; and the same may be said of every atom of matter that exists. Should we be asked the question, Can God be infinite, absolute, and unconditioned, and there exist a universe of things and beings not himself, and no part of himself? we answer, that neither *number* nor *bulk* is a divine attribute; it is the divine *nature*—essence not magnitude—which constitutes, its infinity. We are totally insensible to the difficulties raised about this figment of the restless brain of man by the logomachists. Nothing but the transcendent keenness of intellect which Hamilton and Mansel display in discussing it shields their labors from contempt.

In no instance does Lotze refer to mind as a substantive reality or as an entity, and as the base or cause of phenomena. Thought and stimulated sensations are identified as if they were different phases or stages of one and the same phenomenon. He says:

> Countless impressions have already poured in upon us, and their abiding force is at every moment exciting on the course of their successors an operative influence that we can hardly discriminate from the exclusive results of the unalterable universal laws of mental life. [O for a knowledge of these "laws!"] Still further: The concordant result of self-observation has long and generally been the conception of a mechanism by which the course of internal phenomena is directed, perhaps universally —certainly to a great extent—having other forms, indeed, and governed by other laws of its own, differing from those of external nature, but exhibiting a *like thorough-going dependence* of each several event on its *preceding conditions.*

In the first part of this quotation a special attempt is made to engulf in the "laws of mental life," in the form of passive phenomena, both mind and all its operations. Mind as a distinct individuality must be got rid of at any cost, because this philosophy recognizes but one substance, called the Infinite, the "Unconditioned," etc. In the second part these mental operations are represented as under the law of mechanical necessity; but the proof that such is the case is withheld.

Feeling the uncertainty of the ground on which he stands, Lotze regrets the lack of a universal science, exhibiting the laws that govern the states of being in general, from which the science of physical nature and that of mental life should flow as two different applications of a common, underlying principle.

If philosophers would accept nature as it is, and raise no question in regard to what it ought to be, they would find themselves free to exert all their powers in grasping the actual facts in the case and understanding their significance. Our conception of both mind and matter is, that the two substances, representing two distinct realms of reality, have nothing in common at their base as the ground of "a universal science," and that the longing for such an absurdity is not only labor lost, but it blinds the mind to the truth. The constant aim of our author is to ignore matter, life, and mind as realities, as substances, and bring them as phenomena under the sway of some law or power common to all things. Consciousness is conceived as a kind of reservoir for ideas, or the depository for the "retention of sensuous impressions." Lotze teaches that "trains of ideas" produced or set in motion by "psychic mechanism" must "persist," and their "mutual influence" he regards "as the ground of their expulsion from consciousness"—a thoroughly materialistic conception of mental action. He says further:

> We are wont to regard consciousness as a space of limited extent within which the impressions struggle for their places. . . . Ideas have not originally repellent force; their action and reaction on one another become necessary when the soul's unity operates to combine them, though their own mutual antagonism resists combination.

In the light of these fanciful representations and pictures of mental operations, it will be clearly seen that our author does not regard mind as a substantive personality, self-active and self-directive; its ideas are not regarded as its self-originated thoughts; but it is conceived as a passive something subject to "stimuli," which form *upon it* ideas, and these act *upon* it, and upon each other, attractively and repulsively, according to mechanical law.

Since Lotze has been introduced to the American public by a distinguished lecturer and an eminent philosopher as an

orthodox scientist of great ability, we will favor the reader with another passage bearing upon this point:

> Now, to all association of ideas may be applied the general statement that the soul does not chemically transform the sum of contemporaneous states into a uniform compound state, but mechanically combines them as parts of a coherent whole; and that in like manner it forms the series of its changes, evolving in time into a melody in which those phases cohere together most firmly which are in immediate juxtaposition.—Page 216.

In the above, from the stand-point of materialism, in materialistic phraseology, with mechânical law as his motor power, Lotze spins a web of thought about that of which he knows nothing, and which he expects us to accept, without proof or reason, as pictures of real mental action. Still further:

> Under these conditions a train of ideas develops into the fluctuating scene with which we are all familiar, and whose apparently wanton play often fills us with amazement because we can never catch sight of its moving spring.

Yes, there is trouble whenever we try to trace lines of thought as the results of mechanism, but when we clearly perceive mind as a conscious, self-directing intelligence, whose field of action is the infinite realm of ideas, we then easily catch sight of the Thinker—the conscious framer of these ideas. A mind subject to mechanical law, and yet able to think and reason, would be as much a matter of "amazement" as if a stone or an engine should display the same power.

As we have seen in the first part of his work, Lotze's discussion of matter is very unsatisfactory, as he gives us no clear idea of the powers it really possesses, nor does he attempt to define their limits. In the fourth book, fourth chapter, he returns to the subject and further discusses it as a two-sided substance, as follows:

> We thus find ourselves here brought back to an idea which we met in our first discussion concerning the nature of the soul; to that hypothesis of a *double existence* of all *matter*—outwardly in accordance with the well-known physical properties inwardly stirred by mental activity. . . . But the final step, of denying to the infinitesimal atoms to which we are thus led back any extension in space, form, or size, was there merely a possible, not yet a necessary, termination of that theory. Although, however, it was admissible in respect of physical science to leave this question

undecided, we are constrained, by the conception that would preserve even for matter intelligent life or something analogous, to seek a definite answer to it.

We are not able to decide whether the idea of a double-faced matter was invented by Lotze, Bain, or Spencer, for they all use it, or whether all alike borrowed it from some previous writer; but the fact is of no consequence, for no number of names, however eminent, can give it respectability. The brain, as an *organism* of marvelous complexity, can be "stirred by mental activity;" but to ascribe mental activity to any atom, or atoms, or aggregation of atoms forming a lump or a mass, is too much for any patience. Really nothing is given us in this philosophy as matter but unextended mathematical points, and these are invested with mind and with life. This ground is taken to get rid of the idea of material substance. Because we cannot bring into the field of observation and make palpable to sensation the essence or the atom of matter, its existence as extended substance is denied. Should we affirm that the properties of gold were equal to x, then x would represent the substance which was the subject of these properties. But it may be affirmed that the problem is insoluble, for the value of x, representing essence or being, cannot be ascertained. Suppose for the moment we grant it, still logic forbids that we should regard x as having no value, or as nonentity, for the properties of gold must have a cause. The simple fact is, the properties and forces of gold are as true and complete an expression of the nature of that substance as can be given to man, and they reveal to us, in the only way a revelation can be made, the value of x; and further, as *distinct* and separate from these properties there is no x, for the x is in the properties and forces. This is as far as we can go, for in the presence of the abstract essence of being the mind is helpless and the idea an absurdity.

Lotze's conception of the mutability of matter is indorsed and expounded by Professor Borden P. Bowne as follows:

> Hence we say that the essence of a thing is implicated in its activity; that the notion of a changeless stratum must be abandoned, and the very substances of the physical universe must be brought into the circle of change. But the activity of the atoms varies with their relations; and hence the very being

or essence of the atoms is implicated in those relations, and varies with them.*

To this philosophy we have two objections:

1. It involves the untenable hypothesis of both the destruction and creation of matter. Chemistry regards copper and zinc as elementary substances; but if in the teaching of these philosophers there is any truth, these substances cease to exist when by their union brass is formed. When copper, zinc, or any other substance ceases to exist, it is destroyed—as such, annihilated—and in that respect the world is so much the poorer. How copper and zinc, after annihilation, can create brass, or how brass can be created out of the two nothings, is a mystery which we are sure will tax to its utmost the genius of our ablest metaphysicians. If brass is an elementary substance it is a new creation made out of two nothings; and such is the number and variety of like changes which are constantly transpiring in earth, air, and sea that the destruction and creation of matter is the greatest and most common of nature's processes.

2. Nature does not furnish a fact as proof of change in any elementary substance. No compound was ever broken up which did not yield the original substances which entered into it unchanged, because unchangeable. This hypothesis of change in substance is simply a mental aberration started by a leader in the flock and followed by the rest.

But all these discussions about matter, life, and mind, covering about twelve hundred pages, are preliminary to the unfolding of the author's theory of "man and his relation to the world." Among the great variety of topics examined we may name the following as indicative of his line of thought: "Nature as Mechanical," "The Basis of Life," "The Mechanism of Life," "The Existence of the Soul," "Nature and Faculties of the Soul," "Trains of Ideas," "Connection between Soul and Body," "The Seat of the Soul," "Life in Matter," "Mind and Soul," etc., etc., and it is not till we reach the ninth book that the author begins to put together in logical relations the materials of his philosophical structure. He first destroys the world of common sense—the world familiar to observation and consciousness—and then substitutes for it a world of his own imagination, which no other mind ever fully and correctly

* *Studies in Theism*, p. 245.

conceived or can conceive. Matter as substance is abolished, and unextended mathematical points substituted for it; then these are invested with a something called life. Intellectual life is given to atoms, that is, to these unextended points, and the mind subjected to mechanical law. Lotze turns the world back into chaos that *he* may rebuild it.

Before following him in the plunge he takes into the empty realm of metaphysics, showing respect for no world but the ideal realm of his own creation, we wish here to make the record that we have no respect for any system of metaphysics unless it be amenable to the laws of logic, and is supported by the things and facts of nature, re-enforced by actual experience. Should I affirm that such is the mental structure of the inhabitants of Mars that two and two make five, and that their system of computation is constructed accordingly, my assertions could not be disproved, nor would they make any impression; and for the reason that the statements would refer to things which are placed outside the range of human minds. Things, facts, and experience, logically constructed, embrace and define the limits of scientific and philosophic knowledge; beyond these all is fancy and worthlessness. In the analysis and annihilation of the *world we know*, we understand Lotze; but the fanciful, the ideal, or metaphysical world he would have us substitute for it, we know no more of than we do of the dreams of the people of Mars.

At this point we may gain something in precision and clearness by bringing forward and making conspicuous Lotze's complete conception of the nature of man and of the place he occupies in the universe. For a long time, by considering what the world is not, we have been nearing this point, and it is time we were at least catching glimpses of what it is; and on page 716, second volume, our author gives us what he calls his "confession of philosophic faith," as follows:

> And then there would be but *one thing;* only the *one real power*, appearing to us under a threefold *image* of an end to be realized—namely, first, some definite and desired good; then, on account of the definiteness of this, a formed and developing reality; and finally, in this *activity* an unvarying reign of law.

Note the elements of this confession of philosophic faith: "one thing"—one substance—appearing to us as an "*image*"

of a formed and developing "*reality*," having in its "*activity*" the "reign of law." Professor Bowne traverses the same ground, as follows:

There are no fixed points of being in the material world, but every-where there is law and order. The continuity of the system is preserved by the constancy of the divine *action*.—*Metaphysics*.

On page 600, second volume, book ix, Lotze further unfolds his views:

All which exists is but *one infinite Being*, which stamps upon individual things in fitting forms *its own* ever-similar and self-identical nature. Only on the assumption of this substantial unity is that intelligible which we call the reciprocal action of different things, and which, in truth, is the reciprocal action of the *different* states of *one* and the *same thing*.

As Lotze is now, after severe and protracted labor, in which we have shared, dealing with his philosophy as a completed whole, let us, in the absence of argument, give him the benefit of the best expression he can make of it. On page 598 he says:

And the most desperate efforts to find in the continued mediating activity of God the bond to which it is due that the states of one thing become the efficient causes of change in another, cannot obviate our speculative scruples, as long as they separate God and things from one another, in the same way as individual things used to be separated from one another. For these views, too, only double the unsolved problem—they suppose the action of things upon God and a reaction of God upon them, and explain neither the action nor the reaction. It has seemed to us indispensable to remove this separation, and in a substantial community of *being* between all things, to find the possibility of the states of *one* becoming efficient causes of the changes of another. It is only if individual things do not float independent, or left to themselves in a vacuum across which no connection can reach—only if all of them, being finite individuals, are at the same time only parts of the one single Infinite Substance which embraces them all and cherishes them all within itself—that their reciprocal action, or what we call such, is possible.

The fatal error, ubiquitous in this philosophy, arises from the fact that matter, life, mind, and God are reduced to one substance and subjected to mechanical law. Regarded from this point of view, we may see the reasons for the terrible work which Lotze in his first volume made with the views of matter entertained by science and of the individuality of mind. Matter is not only divested of all properties and reduced to a point,

but that point is not allowed to be substantive—it is merely an "image" of an "activity"—and why? to get it out of the way that room may be made for the one God—the "single Infinite Substance." According to this philosophy, this apparent world—suns, stars, oceans, mountains, men, tigers, hyenas, snakes, toads, sulphuric acid, bread, pie, etc.—is an appearance where nothing appears *or* each one of these things is a part of the one infinite God in a "*state*" of "activity." The patience which can endure either conception must have the quality of perfection.

Professor Bowne thus expresses the same doctrine:

> The atom as a form of activity has no identity whatever. . . . Physical phenomena on this view are no longer referable to the atoms as their substantial ground, but to the agency of the Infinite—to God. . . . Matter is simply a form of manifestation of which the reality is God.—*Metaphysics.*

Hence we may say, sulphuric acid, a sac filled with poison in the mouth of a rattlesnake, and prussic acid, are but "forms of manifestation of which the *reality* is God." As these representations of God and matter are unsupported by any proof whatever, it must not be expected that a reply by argument will be made. Apparently these authors are unable to attempt any thing more than present their conceptions of God and his activities—God the one substance, and the universe God in action. Persons and things are real only as they are an action of which God is the author, and things are related because rooted in God as their first and only cause, and referable to him. We may not be able to disprove the truthfulness of this conception of the universe, but it does not matter, as the presentation of it produces no conviction. To affirm it as a truth implies that one understands to perfection both God and nature, and the reader, to understand it, must have the same knowledge. Justice to Lotze and his disciples demands that we quote further:

> Let us assume that in God the idea of a definite content is thought in such a way as to include all the consequences which it has in the world of the divine thought, these thoughts of God being, as the very power which is in finite minds, the efficacious cause of their intuitions of the world.—Page 644.

Note the propositions before us: 1. The external world is in all its minutiæ and vastness, real only as it is the momentary

activity of God's thought. 2. Because of the unity of the infinite, a divine thought in a specific activity is what we call the finite mind of man. 3. Another specific *activity* of God on the previous activity is the "efficacious cause" of the "*intuitions* of the world." May we parenthetically ask very respectfully, When and where did Herman Lotze "find out" that such were the "ways" of the Almighty? Let us not lose the point before us. To the finite mind this external world is a mere "image," not of a world, but of the divine thought, and real only as an active thought is real.

Professor Bowne expresses the same idea as follows:

We have seen that the Infinite mediates all interaction of the finite, and hence that *all* affections of ourselves—thoughts, feelings, and purposes—are immediately from the Infinite. God is the cause of causes, and the true objective ground of our changing states.*

At last it became clear that the cosmos can be nothing other than a mode of divine energizing, which has the forms of perception in the mind. . . . God, who embraces all finite spirits in his own existence, would produce in them a consistent and harmonious world vision. . . . For God himself the world is only a thought, and not a reality; in his relation to finite minds it is only a rule for producing ideas. *Beyond this the world has no existence.*†

But let us go over the ground again with Lotze:

If one ponders these questions it will be found that nothing whatever is gained for selfless unconscious things, but that rather they lose by having ascribed to them that [their] existence external to God; all the stability and all the energy which they exhibit as active and conditioning forces in the changes of that course of events which is visible to us they—thought as mere states of the Infinite—possess in all the fullness as if they existed as things external to it.—Page 645.

The point made and is simply this: to be a thought of the Infinite in a state of activity is as fully to be *real*—to possess selfhood—to be an intelligence—as to possess an isolated substantive individuality. On this point, as the corner-stone of his philosophy, Lotze lays out all his strength. As for argument or proof of any kind, there is none, nor do we see a chance for any. The basal elements of this philosophy may be articulated as follows:

1. It is monistic; there is in the universe but one substance, and that one, in bulk, is all embracing; it is the absolute God.

* *Metaphysics. p.* 457. † *Ibid., pp.* 467, 468, 470.

2. The phenomenal universe are not substances, but "images," indicating the different activities of God, who at the same time develops—we can't say were—ideas in regard to them.

3. The human mind has no individual existence; it is not any thing real; it has no self-hood, except such as attaches to the momentary activities of the one Infinite Substance.

4. Nothing that is can change except as the Infinite One, the only Substance, shall change.

5. Numerically God is one, and in extension he embraces all things; God and the universe is God in action.

To make these postulates possible,

1. Matter is divested of all its properties, then reduced to an unextended point.

2. A vital world distinct from matter and having peculiarities of its own is ignored or denied.

With matter, life, and mind disposed of—got out of the way as substances—the way is opened for the presentation of this God-world philosophy.

3. As a philosophy this airy structure has nothing to do with fact, reason, experience, or logic. The system is as much a creation of the imagination as any mythological dream that ever engaged the attention of Greek or Norseman.

Our objections to this philosophy are few in number, but far-reaching and conclusive:

1. It is the product of an aberrant fancy, and not at all the teaching of the universe we know.

2. If true, man has no responsibility, and the moral element does not belong to the domain of the Almighty.

3. God is the sole author of all we mistakenly call sin and evil.

4. Neither can this be called a world of intelligence, for man has never known himself, nor his relations, nor the place of his abode.

5. In the scheme of nature and humanity as set forth in this philosophy, the Gospel can logically have no place whatever, for the reason that already in nature we have the infinite God in the fullness of his attributes and activities, and can have nothing more. As the universe as it is and has been is a divine act, it is an expression of the divine will.

HOMER H. MOORE.

Art. III.—STUDIES IN KOHELETH.

1. The Title.—The word Koheleth (קֹהֶלֶת) is, in its grammatical form, the feminine participle of the Hebrew verb קהל, which means to *call together*, to *convoke an assembly* of persons. It occurs seven times (chap. i, 1, 2, 12; vii, 27; xii, 8, 9, 10) in the book which bears this name as its title in the Hebrew Scriptures, but which is more commonly called Ecclesiastes. The precise import of the word is uncertain. If regarded as a proper name, it is in formal analogy with such names as Sophereth and Pochereth in Ezra ii, 55, 57, and is construed as masculine because the writer of the book identified himself with Solomon. The word may, then, be explained as meaning *one who gathers;* and as the verb is always employed in the sense of gathering persons together, the most natural interpretation would be *one who assembles a company of hearers or disciples.* But as the word Koheleth occurs nowhere outside this one book, and the simple (*Kal*) form of the verb nowhere appears in use, we are scarcely warranted in affirming that this specially coined title of the author must mean one who gathers an assembly of persons: there is no sufficient ground or need of denying that it may also mean one who gathers words of wisdom and delight, "acceptable words." Chap. xii, 10. Koheleth impersonates Solomon, "the son of David, king in Jerusalem" (chap. i, 1, 12), and, as the embodiment of wisdom, "he taught the people knowledge;" he pondered deeply, he made wide observation, "he sought out and set in order many proverbs." Chap. xii, 9. Such a person might not inappropriately be called a "Preacher," and so the Greek title, Ecclesiastes, expresses much if not all the meaning of the Hebrew Koheleth. But this word (ἐκκλησιαστής), as Plumptre has well shown, denotes not the crier who called the assembly together, nor yet the president of such an assembly, but one who met together with others in the assembly, and took part in the discussions. "The more natural equivalent for it in English would be *Debater* rather than *Preacher*. . . . The Hebrew writer claimed only to be a member, one of many, of the great *Ecclesia* of those who think." *

* Plumptre on Ecclesiastes, in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, p. 17

But Koheleth made himself a most conspicuous member of the great assembly. The epilogue of his book (chap. xii, 9–14), which many believe to be the addition of a later hand, like the close of John's gospel (comp. John xxi, 24, 25), extols "the words of the wise," and implies that Koheleth was one of the "masters of assemblies." The word here translated *assemblies* (אסֻפוֹת) has no etymological kinship with *Koheleth*, but may, nevertheless, have been employed to explain its meaning. Like the word Koheleth, it occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Scriptures, but its verbal root (אסף) appears very often, and means to *gather* not only persons, but fruits, eggs, flocks, beasts, wealth, etc. Hence it appears entirely proper to substitute the translation *masters of collections* for the phrase "masters of assemblies." The English revisers have placed the alternative rendering, "collectors of sentences," in the margin. The Hebrew expression is בַּעֲלֵי אֲסֻפוֹת, *lords of collections*, and this usage of the word בַּעַל, *lord*, is common and idiomatic. It is thus employed six times elsewhere by this same writer. In chap. v, 10, 12 (Eng. ver., 11, 13), the owners of worldly goods or riches are called lords of it. In chap. vii, 12, we read that "wisdom preserves the life of her lords," and in viii, 8, that "wickedness shall not deliver his lords." In chap. x, 11, a serpent-charmer is called "lord of the tongue," and in verse 20 "lord of the wing" is put in poetic parallelism with "fowl of the heavens." The word *lord* in all these places means one who owns, controls, and has the mastery of the thing designated. So "lords of collections" are not simply those who have collected certain things together, but who are also competent to make some practical use of what they have collected. Koheleth was one of these "masters of collections," for he weighed and searched out and set in order many proverbs; he sought to find pleasant and agreeable words (comp. "words of grace," Luke iv, 22), which should at the same time be both correct and true. These "words of truth" were written, and are compared to sharp goads, designed to quicken or stimulate; also to "nails fastened"—that is, nails well driven in, firmly planted, so as not to be easily removed. When, therefore, we read the statement of chap. xii, 11, we should understand that Koheleth himself is described, and his claim to the reader's attentive study is put forth. "The words of wise men are like

sharp ox-goads, and like nails firmly planted are masters of collections; they are given from one Shepherd."

The "one Shepherd" is best understood of the great Shepherd of Israel, the Giver of wisdom, and Father of lights (James i, 5, 17), the one universal Spirit, from whom proceed all diversities of divine gifts. 1 Cor. xii, 4. From him issued all the stimulating thoughts of Koheleth and all other utterances of wise men; and when collected together in a book, and written in appropriate and telling words, they serve to confirm and strengthen teachers and disciples. Under the guidance and inspiration of the one great and good Shepherd not only Koheleth himself, but all who mastered his argument, and so came into possession of his collection of words of wisdom, would, like him, become lords of collections of wise proverbs and arguments, and be able to hold fast the truth, steadfast and immovable, like well-driven nails.

Such seems to be the lofty claim put forth for the author of this old Hebrew treatise. Whether chap. xii, 9–14 be an appendix by the author himself, or added by a disciple of the author, or inserted by the compilers of the canon as an apology for introducing the book among the Hagiographa, it serves in any case for an appropriate epilogue, and we accept it as a trustworthy indorsement of the book.

2. The Author.—The prevailing opinion of scholars now is, that Solomon was not the author of this book. The language and range of thought lead rather to the conviction that it belongs to the latest period of Old Testament literature. The author, however, assumes the character of Solomon as best serving his purpose to set forth a unique collection of observations on the vanity of human pursuits. We do not here open this question of authorship. It was ably treated in a former number of this Review,* and the arguments *pro* and *con* may also be found in the large Bible dictionaries, introductions, cyclopedias, and commentaries. Whether written by Solomon or some one living several centuries later, the contents and lessons of the book are the same. They must be judged by what they are, and the student's first and greatest care should be to ascertain as far as possible the scope and plan of the work.

* See the article by W. W. Davies in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* of July, 1884, p. 482, *ff.*

3. Analytical Outline.—Although many have taken in hand to set forth a plan of the Book of Koheleth, and while, in spite of all such efforts, some learned men still declare the book without definite plan,* we offer the following analysis as, perhaps, possibly helpful to the interested student. While no treatise belonging to the literature of Jewish proverbial philosophy may be expected to exhibit the formal elements of a systematic discussion, it is still possible, perhaps, to find a thread running through and giving unity to such a small collection of observations as that of Koheleth. To J. G. Vaihinger belongs the credit of having produced an analysis to which many subsequent expositions of the book have been indebted. His "Plan of Koheleth," published in the *Studien und Kritiken* of 1848 (pages 442–478), was translated for the *Methodist Quarterly Review* of 1849, and appeared in two articles in the April and July numbers of that year. His main divisions commend themselves as fairly representing the course of thought, but his subdivisions and system of strophes are too minute and artificial to command general acceptance. Bernstein and Hitzig divided the work into three principal parts, differing, as is shown in these parallel columns:

Bernstein.	Hitzig.
1. Chaps. i, ii.	1. Chaps. i–iii.
2. " iii–v.	2. " iv–viii, 15.
3. " vi–xii.	3. " viii, 16–xii.

Köster, Hahn, and Ewald adopt a fourfold division, with the following differences:

Köster.	Hahn.	Ewald.
1. i–iii.	1. i–iii.	1. i, ii.
2. iv–vi.	2. iv–vi.	2. iii–vi, 9.
3. vii–ix, 16.	3. vii–ix, 10.	3. vi, 10–viii, 15.
4. ix, 17–xii.	4. ix, 11–xii.	4. viii, 16–xii.

* It seems to me that the "labor of the file" has brought the first two chapters to a considerable degree of perfection; but the rest of the book, upon the whole, is so rough and disjointed that I can only suppose it to be based on certain loose notes or *adversaria*, written solely with the object of dispersing his doubts and mitigating his pains by giving them expression. The thread of thought seems to break every few verses, and attempts to restore it fail to carry conviction to the unbiased mind. *Job and Solomon, or the Wisdom of the Old Testament*, by T. K. Cheyne, p. 204. New York, 1887. Comp. also Plumptre's *Commentary*, p. 97. Wright's able work, *The Book of Koheleth*, London, 1883, attempts no formal analysis of the writer's argument.

We believe that any one of these methods of dividing the book would prove more helpful to the student than to dispense with every plan. Better still, however, for him to improve on these, if possible, and to prolong his studies until he can construct an analysis of his own which he can show reason for preferring to every other. We submit herewith our own method of stating the argument of Koheleth, conforming the main divisions to those adopted by Vaihinger. We regard the book as consisting of four series of observations on the emptiness of all earthly pursuits. The great theme, repeated more than a score of times, is

VANITY OF VANITIES, THE WHOLE IS VANITY.

I. *First series of observations, setting forth the emptiness and unsatisfying nature of all things as tested by the personal experiences of Koheleth.* Chaps. i, ii.

1. The sameness of all natural phenomena through all generations of men, i, 1–11.

2. The vanity of wisdom, i, 12–18.

3. The emptiness of all the pleasures which wealth and power can furnish, ii, 1–11.

4. Though wisdom excel folly, the wise man dies like the fool, his labor goes to benefit another, and so life itself seems like a hateful burden, ii, 12–23.

5. Conclusion: There is nothing better for a man than to enjoy as far as possible the good things of life, and recognize them as the gift of God, ii, 24–26.

II. *Second series. All human affairs are under the control of God, and man's highest good will be found in a reverent enjoyment of all good which God grants him in the midst of his toil.* Chaps. iii–v.

1. All times and events determined, iii, 1–15.

2. God will judge the righteous and the wicked, but man may not know the future, iii, 16–22.

3. Still there is the troublesome thought of the oppressions and envy of mankind (iv, 1–6), the misfortune of one who is left alone (7–12), and the vanity of human ambition and popularity (13–16), iv, 1–16.

4. Proverbs based upon the preceding observations, v.

a.) Touching matters of worship, 1–7 (Heb. text, iv, 17–v, 6).

b.) Touching oppression and riches, 8–17 (Heb. text, 7–16).

c.) The highest and best earthly enjoyments 18–20 (Heb. text, 17–19).

III. *Third series. Further observations on earthly vanities, interspersed with wise proverbs.* Chaps. vi–viii, 15.

1. Sore evils incident to wealth, family toil, and man's ignorance of the future, vi, 1–12.
2. Maxims looking to the true wisdom of life, vii, 1–22.
3. Amid the mysteries of life Koheleth warns against the evil woman (23–39), extols wisdom, and advises obedience to the king (viii, 1–8), vii, 23–viii, 8.
4. Amid the oppressions and ignorance of men Koheleth commends the fear of God, and cheerfulness in life, viii, 9–15.

IV. *Fourth series. The mysteries of life and being are a part of the unfathomable work of God, and the highest wisdom is to live cheerfully, fear and obey God, who will bring all things into judgment.* Chaps. viii, 16–xii.

1. The work of God is an incomprehensible mystery, and man is the subject of a higher power, viii, 16–ix, 6.
2. It is best, therefore, for man to live cheerfully and to labor diligently, ix, 7–10.
3. Although diligence and wisdom often seem to go unrewarded, yet wisdom is better than power, and is profitable under all circumstances of life (especially under arbitrary rulers, (x, 4–20), ix, 11–x, 20.
4. Admonition to practice benevolence and forethought, xi, 1–8.
5. The young man admonished to make the most of his opportunities in early life, and to remember his Creator before the gloomy period of old age closes about him, xi, 9–xii, 8.
6. Epilogue. Koheleth aimed to teach wisely, and showed himself a master of wise thoughts; and the sum of all his observations is, that man's great work is to fear and obey God, and expect a future judgment which will reveal every hidden thing, xii, 9–14.

From this analysis and statement of the observations of Koheleth, it is evident that he was a shrewd, careful, and philosophical student of men and things. He was neither an optimist nor a pessimist. He was certainly not an atheist, nor a pantheist, nor a polytheist; he was a devout theist. But while he speaks much of fearing God, he seems to have had no idea of loving him.

4. Estimate of the Book.—The author of Koheleth makes no claim to supernatural revelation, but is shut in by the limitations of the human mind. A New Testament believer, says Delitzsch, could not write such a book without sinning against revealed truth. We venture the further assertion, that he is not up to the most advanced light of the Old Testament revela-

tion. His doctrines of fearing God and keeping his commandments, and expecting a divine judgment of the righteous and the wicked, do, indeed, represent fundamental ideas of Old Testament teaching; but, after all, they are only such postulates of man's religious nature and moral sense as are traceable among all peoples. They exhibit some of the profoundest intuitions of the human soul, and afford a deeply interesting study. Witness, for example, the following: "I know that all which God does, that shall be forever; upon it nothing is to be added, and from it nothing is to be taken away; and God has done it that they may fear before him." Chap. iii, 14. This is but a part of his conviction that all earthly things are subject to the determinate control of God. Under this head, also, we find that remarkable statement of verse 11: "Eternity has he (God) put in their heart, so that man will not find out the work which God has done—from beginning to end." God has planted in man's soul a concept of eternal duration, and the result with the wise man is, that he perceives and acknowledges the necessary limitations of his finite nature. From the human point of view, where the observer can at most discover only parts of God's ways, it seems that these prescribed conditions of time and place and motion are an "evil business" (עִנְיָן), a "sore travail, which God has given to the sons of men to be exercised therein." Verse 10. And so in fact they often are. But what a grand suggestion is offered by the statement found in the midst of these humbling facts: "He has made every thing beautiful in its time." Could man only be elevated to the divine point of view, and see the whole creation from beginning to end, he would perceive that every thing is admirably adapted to its "time and season."

The doctrine of divine judgment is explicitly stated in verse 17 of this same chapter: "I said in my heart, The righteous and the wicked God will judge, for there is a time for every matter, and upon every work, there." If we thus follow the common reading of the Hebrew text, there is a startling, but somewhat mysterious, significance in the final word THERE (שָׁם). Where? In the eternity (verse 11) in which so much is now concealed (נֶעְלָם, comp. xii, 14) from human gaze? That certainly is the most natural import of the Masoretic text.

If, however, we regard שָׂם as the perfect of the verb שׂוּם, *to set*, or *appoint*, we may, as some critics have done, render the passage thus: "A time for every matter and upon every work he has appointed." In this way we have still presented to us the over-ruling and all-determining power of God. Similarly we note the idea of a superhuman power or powers, watching the affairs of men, and not failing to see the oppressions and wrongs of the poor, (in chap. v, 8, Heb. text, verse 7): "A high one above a high one is watching, and there are high ones over them." That is, over the high oppressor is one still higher, who keeps guard, and over them both are yet higher "principalities and powers," and the Most High himself is over all, and, according to chap. xii, 14, he "will bring every work into judgment on every thing concealed, whether good or evil."

A manifest corollary of this doctrine of God and of divine judgment is, that for man there is another life than that which he lives "under the sun." The author appears to accept the doctrine of a future life as one of the intuitions or convictions that prevail among all nations of men. As man finds no permanent rest and satisfaction in this world, he must find it in another if he finds it at all. And yet Koheleth has no word of assurance touching immortality and eternal life. He gives expression to doleful notions of the dead. "The living know that they shall die, but the dead know not any thing, and for them there is no more a reward, for their memory is forgotten" (ix, 5).

In Sheol, whither man is going, there is "no work, nor activity of mind, nor knowledge, nor wisdom" (ix, 10). "Who knows the spirit of the sons of men," he asks (iii, 21), "whether it ascends upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it descends downward to the earth?" He can say at most that "the spirit shall return to God who gave it" (xii, 7), and he ventures upon no speculations as to what the great eternity (עוֹלָם, the mystic *evermore*) may disclose, save that every hidden thing will have its time of judgment (xii, 14). On this point he is quite agnostic.

What he says, therefore, touching God and life and death and judgment need not be regarded as special revelations, but rather as his peculiar enunciation of convictions as universal as the human race. Not, however, the lowest and dimmest of

such convictions are these teachings of Koheleth, but rather a specimen of the highest and best. May we not recognize in the various observations of this book one of the noblest productions of the human mind, unaided by special revelation, in its attempt to determine its own nature and destiny? We look upon these "words of the wise" as an attempt, a study, on the mysteries of life, but not a successful solution of them.

Like all the great thinkers who have studied the problems of life, Koheleth wavers between conflicting sentiments, and sometimes gives utterance to notions that savor of pessimism and epicurean sensuality. As all things are determined, and man cannot see the end from the beginning, the best thing any one can do is to eat and drink and be merry, and so make the most of the present transitory life. Comp. ii, 24; iii, 11, 12; v, 18; viii, 15; ix, 9. Nevertheless, he keeps the thought everywhere prominent that all these sensual delights are a gift of God, and man should hold him in highest reverence. With all the resources which a king might command, Koheleth tested "wisdom, and madness, and folly" (ii, 12), and he proved that wisdom is as superior to folly as light is to darkness. He did not fail to observe at least some instances in which wisdom and knowledge and joy were given to the good man, while to the sinner was given the vexatious business of amassing substance to be given in the end to him who was good in the sight of God (ii, 26). But along with all this he perceived that he who had largest wisdom had most care (i, 18). The more one knows and thinks, the more he realizes his relative ignorance of the mysteries of the world and his inability to solve them. Moreover, the wise man and the fool alike die; "one chance happens to them all" (ii, 14), and in after times they are all alike forgotten. Comp. ix, 1, 2. So, over against the high and impressive reflections of the book are also other thoughts which follow the common trend of man's gloomier and disappointing experiences.

On the whole, our estimate of the Book of Koheleth is, that it serves an important purpose in the volume of divine inspiration. It exhibits the process and outcome of the efforts of a strong and well-trained intellect to find out the nature and purpose of all that is done "under the heavens" (i, 13). We may regard its author as a man inspired of God to write down the

experiences of human reason, unaided by direct revelation, in an earnest struggle to explore the mysteries of man and the world. Looking at all things on all sides, weighing one against another, human ambitions and pursuits all appear like empty nothings (הֲבָלִים), and a striving after the wind. How could any man, inspired or uninspired, better have emphasized the unsubstantial character of all earthly pursuits? Righteousness often goes unrewarded, wickedness triumphs, tyrants oppress, and all alike come to one end; and, as far as human eye can see, Sheol is a realm of silence and darkness; the dust returns to dust, the soul to God; but whether to be re-absorbed in universal spirit, or to ascend, or to go downward, no man can tell. The book ends as it began: "Vanity of vanities—all vanity!"

Nevertheless, the intuition of God as an overruling and infinite power, determining times and bringing all things into judgment, prompts Koheleth to commend reverent worship, and obedience to every precept that is just and wise and true. In such confidence, linked with such confusion and confessions of ignorance, these collected thoughts are permitted to go forth as if given by the one great Shepherd, and to remain like a well-driven nail, continually reminding us of our need of a higher revelation than the best human thought can supply. Some modern *savants* are telling us that the sayings of Zoroaster and Buddha and Confucius and Laotsze rank with the sacred books of Israel. We challenge them to produce from among all those sayings a monograph equal in extent to the two hundred and twenty-two verses of Koheleth's proverbs—a monograph which combines so correct a view of human life with so lofty a concept of God and the world. And yet if we possessed no superior books, if even Koheleth were all the inspired Scripture we could search, how limited and dark would be our knowledge of divine things! Our Father in heaven may well desire us to exercise our faculties on the great problems of being, in order that we may thus best learn our insufficiency. To take a purely human view of things, with only such light as the deep intuitions of the soul afford, is of prime importance to every thoughtful man. Such an exercise, carried on in the devout spirit of Koheleth, will lead us to see how much we need, and how thankfully we should prize the heavenly

REVELATION, "which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men, as it has now been revealed unto holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit." Eph. iii, 5.

Let us observe, in conclusion, the glaring impropriety of citing doctrinal proof-texts from such a book as Koheleth, and employing them as if they must needs be weighted with divine authority. It has been too much a habit of dogmatics to commit this blunder. Men have ranged *ad libitum* through the Bible, citing proof-texts from any book or chapter where they chanced to discover a sentiment that served their purpose, without ever pausing to consider the character and design of the book, or the connection of thought accompanying the particular passage cited. Such a procedure can never permanently help the cause of truth. Koheleth assumes to be a wise man, gifted with the best possible opportunities of finding out, so far as man can find, the *summum bonum* of earthly pursuits. He has set before us many proverbs, some more excellent than others; but inasmuch as he accompanies none of them with a "thus saith God," no wise teacher of theology or morals should employ them as if they were thus indorsed. He may adduce them as expressing convictions common to all thoughtful men, and as such he may at times make them serve a most useful purpose in theological discussions. We recognize the Book of Koheleth as a gift of God, serving the useful purposes we have suggested above; but a faithful study of its contents shows the impropriety of assuming that each particular book and chapter and verse of the Bible is equally valuable for religious instruction.

MILTON S. TERRY.

Art. IV.—THE NEW AFRICA:—I. ITS DISCOVERY.*

The sphinx is dying: the sphinx is dead. It was not by a club-footed wit, like the Œdipus of Sophocles, as in the case of the Theban sphinx of hoariest Grecian eld, that the riddle of this sphinx was solved. It was by the sound feet and tireless trampings of the indomitable Germans Barth and Burckhardt, the dauntless Englishmen Park, Baker, Burton, Speke, and Grant, the plucky Scotchman Cameron, the saintly Scotch-Englishman Livingstone, and the all-conquering Scotch-American, Stanley, and others like them. This riddle is the geography and anthropology of Central Africa; that continent of mystery of which Egypt, the land of dateless mystery, with her still questioning and still unanswered colossal sphinx is the immemorial symbol. As the woman-faced but man-devouring monster at Thebes died with a shriek when her riddle of the quadruped, biped, and triped animal was solved, so the man-devouring mystery of Africa, that has cost so many gallant lives, is at last ended, or is fast ending, and the great "Dark Continent" will soon become one of the grand and safe exploiting grounds of civilization and Christianity.

* *The Heart of Africa.* By Dr. Georg Schweinfurth. 2 vols. 8vo. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Livingstone's Last Journals, etc. 1 vol. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Personal Life of David Livingstone. By William G. Blackie. 1 vol. 8vo. With Portrait. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Across Africa. By Commander Cameron, R. N. 1 vol. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Central Africa. By Colonel C. Chaillié Long, of the Egyptian Staff. 1 vol. small 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Discoveries in North and Central Africa. By Henry Barth, Ph.D., D.C.L. 3 vols. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Boy Travelers in Central Africa. By Colonel Thomas W. Knox. 1 vol. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Boy Travelers in Egypt and the Holy Land. By Thomas W. Knox. 1 vol. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

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History of African Exploration and Adventure from Herodotus to Livingstone. By Charles H. Jones. 1 vol. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Encyclopædia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Arts. "Africa," "Nile," "Niger," "Súdán," etc.

One of the great first-class strides of human progress in the knowledge and conquest of the globe has been mostly made in the times of now-living men in the opening up of inner Africa. It is a work for the repetition of which no other chance exists or can exist; namely, the discovery of the interior of a continent. Dull indeed must be the mind that has not thrilled with a high enthusiasm as this last unexplored grand division of the earth has yielded up its secrets, and its map is at last spread before us: a very meager map, forsooth, with vast spaces yet to be filled in with rivers and lakes and tribes of men; and yet a map that shows what the yet undiscovered must mainly be, and that is itself the prophecy of a colossal future.

And how stupendous is that future! Open your map of the world and spread it out on the table. Take the dividers and set one foot at New York, and then open them till the other foot stands on San Francisco. Now turn the set-screw, and carry them as they are to the map of Africa, and walk the pointers from Gibraltar to Cape Town. The first stride from Gibraltar carries you down into the negroid kingdoms of the central Soudan. Another stride will carry you into the basin of the Zambesi. Then shorten your span to touch the cape, and carry it back to America, and, with one foot at New York, the other stands on the Mississippi at St. Louis. Your curved line through central Africa from Gibraltar to the cape is 5,000 miles long! Then start at Cape Verde, in Senegambia, and run eastward to the point of the horn of east Africa at Cape Guardafui, and you have 4,600 miles, enough to reach from New York to the ancient city of Mexico twice, and a bit left long enough to reach to Toledo, Ohio! Africa contains, with its islands, 11,854,000 square miles, equal to three and one third times the whole area of the United States and Territories! And the best of it all, and one of the largest masses of contiguous fertile land on the globe, is the *New Africa* of the central plateau and its watersheds. Instead of being occupied, as anciently conjectured, by the mythical "Mountains of the Moon," imagined to be the loftiest and most Alpine wastes on the globe, and then another and more terrific Sahara to the south of them, we behold one of the vastest, noblest, best watered, and richest plateaus on the globe! Instead of Milton's compound hell of ice and fire we behold a paradise, a region which, when

opened, surveyed, roaded, bridged, drained, irrigated (some of it), cultivated, populated, civilized, and Christianized, is worth more than all the rest of the continent together: more than all Europe, as a happy and powerful home for mankind.

And then to think that all this vast area of fertility and power lay there untouched and undreamed of, while men were piercing arctic snows, and exploring boundless oceans, in search of homes for liberty, religion, and human progress! What was the world about all this time? Well, the world was not idle; but it crept before it walked, in this as in other things. Some pretty lusty creeping, too! Let us take a glance at some of these creepers, the pioneers of the modern blaze of exploring success and glory in Africa. How many people know that all the useful exploration and discovery in Africa has come during the last hundred years? Here is the roll-call in part:

James Bruce, born in Scotland, 1730; University of Edinburgh; merchant; then consul at Algiers; then traveled in Barbary States, Syria, up the Nile to Syene, in Arabia and Abyssinia. November 14, 1770, thought he had found what he sought—source of the Nile. Great exultation; called himself first white man ever to gaze on that mystery. But it proved to be only the head spring of Lake Dembea, in Abyssinia—the head of the Blue Nile, a much smaller branch than the mighty White Nile—and even that had been found by a Portuguese Jesuit, Pedro Paez, one hundred and fifty years before! Published four costly volumes, principally valuable on Abyssinia. Their correctness, much questioned at first, has been mainly sustained by later researches, and they are now an accepted authority.

Mungo Park, Scotland, 1771; University of Edinburgh. Explored from mouth of Gambia much of the Upper Niger in 1795–97, and went farther down the Niger in 1805, to Boussa, the capital of Gando, 650 miles below Timbuctoo, where he and his expedition were killed by the natives. Park's name heads the list of West African explorers, as Bruce's that of the East, and is indissolubly connected with the Niger. In piety and gentleness of spirit Park resembled Livingstone. Park thought the Niger was the Congo.

John Louis Burckhardt, Basle, Switzerland, 1794; University of Leipsic. Studied the purest Arabic at Aleppo two years.

In 1812, in guise of a poor Turkish trader, went up the Nile to Shendy (corrupted from Candacé), 3,000 years ago the capital of the famous ancient kingdom of Meroë, (the Old Testament and classical Æthiopia), and a short distance below Khartoum, which lies at the junction of the White and Blue Niles. In 1815 visited Sinai. Was so good an Arabic and Moslem scholar that he passed for a very learned and orthodox Mussulman, and received a splendid Moslem funeral at Cairo. His scholarly works have permanent value.

James Kingston Tuckey, Ireland, 1778; British navy. Surveyed part of coast of Australia in 1805. Was appointed to command British expedition to explore Congo River. Ascended the estuary (on which he is still an authority), passed—with great suffering and loss to his expedition—the Yellalla Falls, at the lower cañon of the great series found by Stanley, to a distance of 172 miles from the sea, and died there in 1816. Stanley speaks of one of the furious eddies, or whirlpools, of the Congo, down which he was drawn in his boat, and so lost. But his name abides as the first European who attempted the exploration of the Congo, though his fate deferred further exploration for sixty years.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dixon Denham, Captain Hugh Clapperton and Dr. Oudney composed the Denham, Clapperton and Oudney expedition which crossed the Sahara from Murzook, the capital of the great oasis of Fezzan, to Lake Tsad, or Tchad, in Central Soudan, in 1822–23. Denham's exploration of Lake Tchad and its vicinity was the best fruit of this expedition.

Richard Lander was Clapperton's servant on a second expedition, in which Clapperton started from the Bight of Benin and crossed the Niger, but died without effecting any thing of value. But Lander proved himself a man of capacity and enterprise, and on his return to England was sent by the government, on a plan of his own, to explore the river. He took his younger brother, John, and set out from his former starting-point, Badagry, on the Bight of Benin, west of the Niger delta, intending to go to Lake Tchad. But the natives took him prisoner on the Niger, and, for a great ransom, brought him down the hitherto unexplored lower course of the great river, to the sea. Thus, by Park's perseverance and Lander's fortunate captivity, the great Niger was at last explored, a work covering

over twenty-five years. In 1825 Laing crossed the Western Sahara on the caravan route from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, which he reached, and near which he was treacherously murdered.

But by far the most valuable contribution to European knowledge of the Central Súdán—Bilád es Súdán, "The Country of the Blacks"—Nigritia (Negroland), was that made by the great expedition of Richardson, Dr. Barth, and Overweg, in 1850–55. Barth did most of the useful work. Going south from Tripoli to Murzook they then went south-west into the desert, and visited the then unexplored oasis kingdoms of Aïr and Agades, thence south across the remaining desert into the Súdán. Barth visited the important city of Kano, capital of Háussa, whence he went eastward to Kuta or Kúkuwa, on Lake Tchad (which Richardson never reached, having died near it before Barth's arrival from Kano), and then went south and east, and explored the hitherto unvisited kingdoms of Adamawa and Baghirmi. In Adamawa he came upon and crossed the Tchadda, or Benué ("Mother of Waters"), the great eastern branch of the Niger. Where he crossed it was a majestic river of clear water, 800 yards wide, 11 feet deep, with its immediate banks 20 feet high, and flowing, from east to west, through an open plain country. Its greater inundations last forty days, from August 20 to September 30, and bury its valley under a rise of thirty to fifty feet of water. It was without cataracts, and navigable for steamers, as has since been proved by the voyage of the British steamer *Pleiad*, commanded by Dr. Baikie, which, in 1854–57 ascended the river 400 miles from the forks of the Niger, went beyond Barth's crossing, and found it still half a mile wide and ten feet deep. At their junction the Kworra (Niger) is $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, and the Benué $1\frac{1}{8}$ miles wide, and much the best for navigation.

In 1847–49 Messrs. Krapf and Rebman, German missionaries at Mombas, on the eastern coast, a little north of Zanzibar, made explorations on the great interior highland of Eastern Africa, south-east of Victoria Nyanza. Here they discovered—what had been suspected, but unknown before—an Alpine region in reality. Mont Blanc, the summit of Europe, is 15,750 feet high. But Baron von Decken's triangulations (1860–61) give to Kilima-Njaro a height of 20,065 feet, and Kenia is thought to be higher. Both are tipped with perpetual snow, though

nearly under the Equator. The White Range, to which they belong, has other peaks of similar height.

It was the intelligence which these missionaries (Krapf and Rebman) brought of native reports of great lakes in the interior, which led the British Royal Geographical Society to send the two Indian army captains, Burton and Speke, in 1857–59, on an expedition to discover and explore the "Sea of Ujiji, or Unyamwezi Lake." They made the first march of Europeans from Zanzibar to the great central plateau, and discovered and explored Lake Tanganyika, which Burton thought to be 250 miles long (it is 412 miles long) with no affluents. (It is found to have several important affluents, but they are not yet explored). But they were astonished to learn that the river Rusisi, or Lusize, at the north end of the lake, flows into, not out of, the lake, thus confounding their hope that the lake was the source of the Nile. Dr. Livingstone, with Stanley, had the same surprise and disappointment at the same discovery. The mere levels of the lake and the Nile should have taught them better. Tanganyika Burton found only 2,850 (Cameron 2,710) feet above the sea, which is only 1,170 feet higher than the Nile at Gondokoro, not to speak of the long run needed to get there. A barometer at Ujiji should have told any man who knew the levels of the Upper Nile that the Tanganyika must belong to some other great river system, which *must* go *west*, since every other direction is up hill.

Burton and Speke's successful expedition was followed, in 1861–62, by that of Speke and Grant, which resulted in the discovery of the great Victoria N'yanza, which Speke thought larger than Lake Superior. He found it to be 3,750 feet above the sea, 1,900 feet above Tanganyika, which therefore could have no connection with it, but its altitude pointed to the Nile, which at last he found flowing northwardly out of it in a broad stream which was born full-grown, in a cataract, from the lake. They followed the mighty river downward to Gondokoro, where they met Colonel Baker governing the country as an Egyptian Pacha, and thus another thousand miles were added to the Nile, and another great lake to the map of the world.

To this, however, Baker soon added his discovery of the Luta N'Zigre, which he named Albert N'yanza, three hun-

dred miles long, one of the three or four largest bodies of fresh water on the globe, into and then out of which the Nile flows, at points eighteen miles apart. The lake lies 2,720 feet above the sea, and 1,030 feet below Victoria Lake. It is a vast filter and regulator for the Nile. Its own affluents were not explored. Baker furnishes another illustration of how hard to die are preconceived notions. He thought Lake Tanganyika must be either a prolongation of his Albert Lake, (which Gessi, in 1876, reduced by survey to one fourth of the extent Baker gave it), or else tributary to it. But if it could get the chance his lake would all run down hill into Tanganyika, and take all the Victoria Nile and lake with it. The little pocket thermo-barometer, an old tomato can, and a box of matches are ugly things among geographical fancies.

It was Dr. Livingstone's great work, however, that really opened up Central Africa. His early explorations in South Africa had prepared him for greater things. On May 31, 1854, he astonished the world by arriving at St. Paul de Loanda, having discovered and explored the great Zambesi, and its wonderful Victoria Falls, and crossed the African Continent, the first European to do so. It was a glorious pioneer exploit, prophetic of the conquest of the continent. On his return from England, in March, 1858, with the small steam launch *Ma Robert*, he entered the mouth of the Zambesi, finding its delta reaching 100 miles inland. He discovered and navigated its great northern affluent, the Shirè, and its two great lakes, the Shirwa, 60 miles long by 30 broad, land-locked and salt, and the great Nyassa, 200 miles by 60, larger than Lake Ontario, and with dark blue water, like the sea, indicating great depth.

But all previous African work was eclipsed by the last great seven-years' march of Livingstone. Starting from Zanzibar he sailed down the east coast and landed at Makindany Bay, just north of the mouth of the great Rovuma River, whence his march began on April 7, 1866. He passed up the north bank of the Rovuma, whose lower course is over a mile wide, and, crossing it, struck south-westward to the eastern shore of the great Lake Nyassa, formerly discovered by him. The Arab slavers refused him passage across the lake in their slave dhows, and he was obliged to go around its southern end. Thence he struck north-westwardly along the water-shed between the lake

on the right and the affluents of the Upper Congo, and then of Lake Bangweolo (not then known) on the left. In December, 1866, he crossed the Loangwa, a large tributary of the Zambesi, here 300 feet wide, ferried by canoes, and making great sand-banks like the Zambesi. On January 28, 1867, he crossed the Chambezé, the head stream of the great Congo, flowing to the west, its true channel 40 yards wide, but now at flood, and always needing canoe ferriage. Here he heard that the river flowed into a Lake Bemba, or Bangweolo.

April 1, 1867, he reached Lake Liemba, the southern bay of Tanganyika. After a two-weeks' fever he followed the western shore of the lake northward until May 14, and then struck westward, a long march, until he found Lake Moero, in November, 1867, and on March 17, 1868, saw the great Lualaba River, flowing northward out of the lake, which he thought might flow into Lake Tanganyika, which he had not yet visited, and which, as to levels, was quite possible, as Moero lies 3,000 feet above the sea, and nearly 300 feet above Tanganyika. This also shows that very great cataracts must exist, as yet undiscovered, between Lake Moero and N'yangwé, the lowest point afterward reached by Livingstone on another route. But he thought Tanganyika itself to be an expansion of the Nile, and so all this was Nile. While stopping at Lake Moero Livingstone learned that this was the same river he had crossed as the Chambezé, which flowed into, and then out of, Lake Bemba, or Bangweolo (which they said was very large), and so came down to Moero. He therefore resolved to visit the great lake, and so marched southward up the connecting river Luapula, though to the east of it, and on July 18, 1868, discovered the great Lake Bangweolo, and navigated it, and estimated it 150 miles long by 80 broad, but not of great depth, as the water was green, not deep blue, like Nyassa. He thought Miss Tinné's expedition on the Nile might have gone up to this lake, and then ascended the Chambezé in canoes, if Speke and Grant, in their mistake about Victoria Lake being the Nile source, had not turned her back at Gondokoro!*

On December 11, Livingstone left Moero with an Arab slave caravan, and reached Ujiji, on Tanganyika, on March 14, 1869. On July 13 he was off from Ujiji with another slave-

* *Last Journals*, pp. 228 and 268.

hunting caravan of Arabs across Lake Tanganyika (which he sounded 1,965 feet deep, when his line broke with no bottom), for the Manyuema country, on the lower Lualaba, far to the north-west of Ujiji. He was detained by ulcerated feet at Bambarre, made many detours, and arrived at N'yangwé, on the great Lualaba, on March 30, 1871. Here he found a vast river 3,000 yards—more than 1½ miles—wide, always deep, flowing "ever northward" about two miles an hour. On July 20 he started back for Ujiji, where he arrived October 23, to find his stores a second time plundered by the unspeakable Arabs, and horrors staring him in the face, when lo! on October 24, the very next day, Henry M. Stanley, flying the American flag, arrived with the *Herald's* Relief Expedition, and Livingstone was saved and rich in a moment!

November 16 Livingstone and Stanley started in great canoes to explore the northern end of Lake Tanganyika. December 5 they entered the Lusizé River at the end, and found it large, with a delta, and a strong current flowing *into* the lake! There went the Nile again, obstinately flowing *up-stream* (compared with their notions), and they saw that the lake must go westward to the Lualaba,—or nowhere! March 14, 1872, Stanley started on his return trip to Zanzibar, and Livingstone went with him as far as Unyanyembe, where he awaited new men and supplies sent him by Stanley from Zanzibar.

On August 25, 1872, the old hero with his new equipment set out from Unyanyembe on his last and fatal journey. He took the usual caravan route back toward Ujiji until near where it strikes Lake Tanganyika, and there he turned to the left, southward, and followed the eastern bank of the great lake for nearly 200 miles, bending to the west around its southern end, going westward almost to Lake Moero, then turning southward and south-eastward toward Lake Bangweolo, and passing around its eastern end, where he again crossed the marshy and flooded Chambezé. Thence he followed the southern shore of the great lake westward for nearly half its length. The exposures to constant rain and wet, causing fever and dysentery, now broke him up completely, and at last the iron-hearted explorer was found in the morning on his knees by his bedside, dressed, and dead, where he had knelt for his last

prayer before retiring the night before, and never risen again. His faithful Chuma and Susi embalmed his body and bore it to Zanzibar, and to the mighty abbey of Britain's fame, and by their devotion to their dead friend they also embalmed themselves in the heart of the whole civilized world.

Dr. Georg Schweinfurth, Ph.D., of Berlin University, an eminent botanist and naturalist, did a good piece of work in African exploration in 1869–71. With letters from the Egyptian government he went, by way of Suez, the Red Sea, Suakim, Berber, and the Upper Nile, to Khartoum, where his exploring tour began. On January 5, 1869, he left Khartoum, with a wealthy and powerful Coptic Christian ivory-trader named Ghattas, with whom the governor of Khartoum had made a strict contract for his conveyance, provision, and safe conduct, and return, with the right to accompany, with his own servants, every expedition Ghattas should send out, in whatever direction. The expedition went up the White Nile in boats to the "*sudd*" ("sod"), the great ambatch barrier, thence 220 miles up its great western branch, the Bahr-el-Gazal (Gazelle River) to the similar barrier on that river, where they reached the usual landing-place, or "Meshera," on February 24.

From this "head of navigation" they marched, by caravan, two hundred miles southward to the principal *seriba*, or fortified depot village, of Ghattas, which they reached on March 30. This was to the east of the Dyoor, a river 360 miles long, constituting the main southern branch of the Bahr-el-Gazal. The *seriba* was 1,545 feet above the sea, but only 305 feet above the level of Khartoum. Here he spent nearly a year, making many short excursions, and doing much scientific work of many sorts, part of which was the exploration of the Dyoor River and people, the Bongo people, etc. On November 17, 1869, he started with Aboo Sammat, a friendly rival merchant of Ghattas, and a very intelligent man, on an expedition much farther southward, to the Monbuttoo kingdom, passing through the country of the splendid but cannibal Niam Niam on the way. He was introduced to Munza, the famous barbarous king of the Monbuttoo, also cannibals, on March 22, 1870, where he spent a month, and, after many detours, arrived back at Ghattas' *seriba* about May 1, and at Khartoum July 21, 1871.

The scientific fruits of Schweinfurth's work were exceed-

ingly rich, and the loss of most of them by the burning of his huts at Ghattas' *seriba* nearly broke his heart. But his most important contributions to geography were the determining of the contour of the great western expanse of the Nile basin. He considers the Bahr-el-Arab, which by native accounts runs many hundred miles from due west before it joins the Bahr-el-Gazal, to be really the main stream, of which the latter, with the Dyoor and its other large branches, is only a branch. The Bahr-el-Arab, he thinks, may be the large river which Barth's expedition heard of as running away to the east, out of the southern part of the Nigritian kingdom of Waday, lying east of Lake Tchad. If so, this Bahr-el-Arab, he thinks, may contest with the Bahr-el-Abiad (White River) the question of the headship of the Nile. But this, of course, is a mistake, as there is no room to gather such a river in that direction. In Monbuttoo he found the "Akka," a nation of pygmies, thus proving another of Herodotus's old stories to have a fact at the bottom of it. Here also he found the great river Keebaly lower down called the Welle, which was more than 1,200 feet wide and 10 to 15 feet deep, passing about 10,000 cubic feet of water per second, and flowing straight west into the great unknown. This was vastly larger than the Bahr-el-Gazal, and so could not go to the Nile. He *had passed the water-shed of the Nile!* The natives all said it kept straight on north-west until so wide that trees could not be seen across it, and that the people there wore long white shirts and knelt down to pray. All of which pointed to the Shari, Lake Tchad, and the Soudanese black Moslems. The levels and volumes also point to the same conclusion. The distance would be about 1,000 miles to the lower Shari, the fall 1,450 feet (showing cataracts on the way), and the volumes 10,000 to 20,000 for the Welle, and 85,000 (Denham) for the lower Shari, after receiving the Serbuwel, the Logon, and other great branches. The Welle might, by volumes and levels, be the Benué, which Barth found at Yola in Adamauć, July 18, 1851, 1,200 feet wide, 11 feet deep, with 50 feet rise. But if the Welle be the Benué, then where is the water-basin to collect the Shari, whose waters are ample enough to keep in existence, on the edge of the desert, a fresh-water lake larger than Belgium, with an area varying with its seasons from 10,000 to 60,000 square miles? But one other element tangles

all these theories. The Welle, according to Schweinfurth, floods in April, but the Shari, 1,000 miles lower, as also the Benué, have their great rise in September.

If, as Schweinfurth surmises, some great southern branch of the Shari floods first, then that river must be large enough to encroach on the basin of the Benué. Stanley* thinks his Aruwimi, a great northern branch of the Congo, is the Welle, and volume and levels coincide for that theory also. As to flood seasons we are not informed. No great river, great enough to be the Welle, reaches the Atlantic coast between the Congo and the Niger. The Ogowé, now partially explored, is far too small in its upper course. But one thing sheds light (and rain, too!) on the whole question. The great south-western monsoon-rains, from the South-Atlantic Ocean, sweep clear to Lake Tchad, and they get there nearly a month before they reach the Nile at Khartoum, in the same latitude. Hence there can be no Alpine tract running east and west across the unexplored region north of the Congo. Schweinfurth also found the chimpanzee plenty in Monbuttoo, which belongs exclusively to the West African fauna. Hence it is plain that there is—that there must be—here a vast, moderately elevated, abundantly watered, warm, and fertile plateau, with lakes and rivers, perhaps some low mountains, the whole as yet unexplored by any European, and possibly never yet reached by any Arab, either from the Sudán, Egypt, or Zanzibar. The copious rains on this plateau give birth to the northern tributaries of the Congo, the western branches of the Nile, and the whole Shari and Benué systems.

Perhaps the long disappearance of Stanley at this time (April, 1888), and when he is reported to have not yet reached and relieved Emin Bey, is to be accounted for by surmising that he has plunged into this greatest and most valuable yet unexplored realm of Africa, or the world, to trace the water-shed between the Congo, the Benué, the Shari, and the Nile. Certainly the solution and mapping of this vast and valuable region is the finest geographhical prize yet remaining on the globe to be won. As Cameron's plucky trip across the continent on the southern plateau traced the water-shed be-

* *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. ii, pp. 275, 276; and *The Congo Free State*, vol. ii, pp. 126–133.

tween the Congo and the Zambesi, so the northern "divide" must now be traced, and probably with far more interesting results as to both geographical features and commercial importance.

Then there will remain another great trip to be made: that which shall go to the south and east of Victoria Lake and trace the rim of the Nile basin in that direction, and the head rivers that feed the vast lake, and the eastern slope of the Nile basin, thence to Abyssinia, exploring the head-waters of the great river Jub, going to the Indian Ocean, and the Sobat, possibly the largest eastern tributary of the Nile. Long Bey ascended this river by steamer 300 miles from the Nile, in 1874.

In this high eastern tract it is more than probable that, in accordance with native reports, a partially salt and desert region will be found under the north-western slope of the great snowy range, which probably cuts off the monsoon from a considerable tract between its crest and the Nile waters. The fierce hostility of these free mountaineer tribes to the Arab slave-hunters has thus far defeated all thorough exploration from the coast, while the want of water, the Arabs say, has kept them from entering from the west. They declare that they know almost nothing about this country. Native reports locate here several lakes, some land-locked and salt, others fresh, and fountains of the Nile and the Jub.

Stanley's great voyage around the Nile lakes and down the Congo—greater in its manhood and nobler in its moral purpose than Alexander's march from the Hellespont to the Hydaspes—and his work of founding a new nation on the vast river, will be treated in another article. Of the sportsmen explorers, the lion-hunters and gorilla discoverers, though some of their contributions to knowledge have not been small, we have no space to write. We have, in this article, been looking over the grand approaches to the final opening up of Africa to the world. Bruce, Burckhardt, Baker and Schweinfurth on the east and the Nile; Park and Lander on the Niger; Denham and Clapperton, and then Barth, Overweg and Richardson on the Shari and Benué and Lake Tchad basin; Burton, Speke, and Grant on the great highland lake region; Livingstone on the Zambesi, the Rovuma, and the Lualaba-Congo; these are the chief names that have pioneered the great work—one of the greatest of all the ages.

GEO. LANSING TAYLOR.

Art. V.—FREEDOM AND LAW.*

It may appear to be ungenerous, in remarking upon this book, to begin with its defects. Professor Drummond so wins his readers by his Christian spirit, as well as by the brilliancy of his style and the originality of his thought, as to make criticism seem ungracious. The faults of the book are in a measure neutralized by its excellences. No lover of truth can fail to find in it healthful incentive to thought and aim. It would be a pleasant task to summarize its rich suggestions and instructions. But of abridgment there is no need. The book is not forbidding in its bulk, and it is sure of readers as it is. But all the more may criticism be a duty.

Current Thought on the Question of Freedom.

It is not my purpose to review this book except so far as it touches the question of freedom and necessity. Is man the subject of any law other than natural law? If so, what law? Has he any freedom other than that of the crystal, the fern, and the robin, to obey natural law? If so, what freedom? The two questions are practically one, and there is no other question in either philosophy or theology so weighty in the issues involved. Strangely, too, there is no other question upon which, among Christian teachers, vagueness and agnosticism and indifference, or virtual surrender to an atheistic philosophy, so widely prevail. Necessity lacks not avowed disciples and able defenders; but the cause of freedom, which is nothing less than Christianity on the human side, often goes by default. A distinct avowal of the doctrine of necessity we do not look for to-day in a Christian writer. But never more widely than to-day has necessity been the underlying philosophy of current literature, secular and religious. That every man is what hereditary and environing influences make him is the creed of non-Christian scientists and thinkers of all schools. It is on this ground, too, that liberal Christians, including many connected with Churches known as evangelical as well as Universalists and Unitarians, base their assurance or their hope that, under an administration of omnip-

* Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World.*

otent wisdom and love, all men will be ultimately, either in this life or in the life to come, transformed into perfected sons of God. Admit the premises, and the conclusion is the only reasonable one. Moreover, among Christian scientists the reign of natural law so nearly monopolizes attention that protest against necessity is generally wanting or uncertain. Agnosticism upon the question has, of course, ground for no conclusion. Indefiniteness as to the freedom of man as a moral agent carries with it logically and inevitably indefiniteness as to his accountability here and hereafter. All evangelical Christians, it is true, affirm, as they understand it, the freedom and accountability of man. But when pressed with objections they are agreed upon no common defense on philosophic grounds. In many cultured minds, even among those of Arminian antecedents, there is a manifest reaction to necessitarian tendencies of thought. How freedom in man to make choice for himself can be reconciled with the reign of natural law is a question upon which the majority are silent, or frankly admit that they see no light. Christian thinkers who have departed widely from the theology of Edwards have not ceased to reiterate, or quietly to assume as axiomatic, his oft-repeated affirmation, in substance that the highest possible or conceivable freedom in man is the power to do (or to will) as he finds himself inclined—to take the choice he did not make. It is confidently affirmed that any more freedom than this is impossible in itself, and that, if it were possible, it would substitute the reign of confusion in the place of law.

It is notable, also, that the more prominent evangelistic leaders of premillennial views seem to ignore any other freedom in man than to act as he is acted upon, and to regard Christianity as a system of spiritual dynamics for the rescue, as by force, of as many souls as possible before the final catastrophe. Evidently it is the old theologies rather than the old philosophy which all the new departures in Christian thought have left behind. But a theology, however perfect, grounded on a necessitarian philosophy, however skillfully disguised, is meaningless. Word for word, idea for idea, thought for thought, the philosophy cancels from the theology every factor which denotes moral government and accountability, and leaves even immortality an almost empty word.

Professor Drummond's Attitude on the Question.

In the general confusion of thought on the question of freedom it is fair to let every man speak for himself. There has never been a self-consistent Christian necessitarian. But neither are the advocates of freedom always self-consistent. As a Christian disciple could not fail to do, Professor Drummond has said many things which imply freedom. Want of courage to say what he means we may not infer from the fact that a writer sometimes argues a concealed proposition. Doubtless Professor Drummond is as reluctant to admit to himself, without qualification, that man has no higher freedom than to act out the inclination he finds in himself, as he is to say this distinctly to his readers. He is not so confident as to put the square negative that man has no other freedom than to obey natural law. But this seems to be all the freedom he is able to account for.

The author does not claim to have treated his subject exhaustively. To say that completeness in what he has undertaken cannot be claimed for him, is only to say he is not among authors an exception to the universal rule. There is such a thing as keeping too close to one's theme. No subject can be seen to advantage except when viewed in its proper connections. Natural law can be defined only when distinguished from higher law. To claim for it exclusive supremacy is to make the mistake of the viceroy who ignores the king to whom he is subordinate. Moreover, freedom and law are so closely related that neither, when isolated from the other, can be half understood. Freedom and law occupy the same field, and between them there can be, in a well-ordered universe, no real antagonism. Whatever Professor Drummond has justly claimed for law, then, must be in harmony with what another may justly claim for freedom. Law is freedom's opportunity. The more full and correct, therefore, our view of the province of law, the better are we prepared to trace the bounds of freedom. If some inspired teacher could give us a perfect view of law, we should have only to follow the pathway opened by him to learn how much freedom is actual and possible.

The operation of natural law in the spiritual world is the central thought of the book. Let us not be in haste to object

to this thought. Professor Drummond has done something better than clothe an ingenious speculation in an attractive dress. He has formulated a truth not before so clearly brought to view. Whether he has claimed for it too much is a question worth considering.

Natural law, as the author has kept us in mind throughout his book, is solid ground. Welcome all new discoveries of the lines which bound its domain, traceable in whatever world. We assume the existence of natural law in the higher spheres of being when we speak, as we properly do, of the moral nature, the religious nature, and the spiritual nature of man. The man who has put off the animal nature and has put on the angelic has not ceased to be a man—in a higher sense a natural man. But plainly, to stop with natural law—to say there is no other law—is to find freedom in man to make choice for himself nowhere. Natural law always has its own way, and as far as it goes excludes responsible freedom.

Does the author intend to stop with natural law? He anticipates our question: "Are there then no other laws in the spiritual world except those which are projections or extensions of natural laws?"—P. 52. To this question we might reasonably expect a definite "Yes" or "No," or, "I do not know." The author's argument leads to a simple negative. But he hesitates. What he has said in answer to his own question he summarizes in his analysis thus: "The existence of laws in the spiritual world, other than natural laws, (1) improbable, (2) unnecessary, (3) unknown. Qualification."—P. 19. But the "qualification," as we might expect after this cumulative negation, hints at no definite exception. The author does not quite say there are no other laws. On a previous page (37) he had affirmed that the whole spiritual world is not covered by natural law, though what he says in the connection seems to indicate that the uncovered part was, in his view, confined to the region of "mystery," "uncertainty," and "darkness." He proceeds generally on the hypothesis that there are no other than natural laws. He challenges the objector to point out any other laws. "If the objection be pressed that it is contrary to the analogy and unreasonable in itself that there should not be new laws for this higher sphere, the reply is obvious: Let these laws be produced."—P. 52. This conclu-

sion, too, if not necessarily involved in it, well comports with the author's thought as to the order of evolution, that the spiritual is the primitive and real natural world, and all the laws of the lower world are projections downward from the spiritual. "The first in the field was the spiritual world." "The visible universe has been developed from the unseen."—P. 55. "Law in the visible is the invisible in the visible. And to speak of laws as natural is to define them in their application to a part of the universe, the sense part, whereas a wider survey would lead us to regard all laws as essentially spiritual."—P. 56. "The laws of the spiritual world existed first, and it was natural to expect that when the 'intelligence resident in the Unseen' proceeded to frame the material universe, he should go upon the lines already laid down. He would, in short, simply project the higher laws downward, so that the natural would become an incarnation, a visible representation, a working model of the spiritual."—P. 57.

The above quotations are from the "Introduction," the most elaborate and compact portion of the book. In other places the author puts the same doctrine with equal force. Thus in the article on "Environment:" "These two, heredity and environment, are the master influences of the organic world. These two have made all of us what we are."—P. 183. "These two factors are responsible for making all living organisms what they are. . . . Biography is really a branch of natural history."—P. 183. Thus in the article on "Conformity to Type:" "In point of fact, is he [man] not after all the veriest automaton—every organ of his body given him, every function arranged for him, brain and nerve, thought and sensation, will and conscience, all provided for him ready made? And yet he turns upon his soul and wishes to organize that himself. O preposterous and vain man! thou who couldest not make a finger-nail of thy body, thinkest thou to fashion this wonderful, mysterious, subtle soul of thine after the ineffable image? Wilt thou ever permit thyself *to be* conformed to the image of the Son?"—P. 217. The rhetoric of this passage is better than its logic. Power to organize himself, body or soul, in the smallest part, has never been claimed for man. What is claimed by those who regard man as something more than an automaton is that he can use even his finger-nail so as to serve or wrong his

soul, ennoble or pollute it. If man is but "the veriest automaton," it is not fair to taunt him nor reasonable to exhort him.

Does the author mean that the human automaton he has described man to be—"brain and nerve, thought and sensation, *will and conscience, all provided for him ready made*"—really holds in his own power the question to what type of character he is to be conformed? If that were his meaning, there were no question between us. But, according to the drift of his argument, the initiative election in the plan of salvation is with the perfect type, not with the creature subject, and the "permit" of the subject is secured by the influence of the type. Quite true, as the author teaches, without the vitalizing type the subject is helpless. The protoplasm cannot wake itself to consciousness and become the artist in its own transformation. But is the subject unconditionally predestinated to be conformed to the type, or does the quickening Spirit first enable the intelligent subject in perfect freedom to choose the type?

Let our author ask again: "Is man, then, out of the arena altogether? Is he mere clay in the hands of the potter—a machine, a tool, an automaton? Yes and no." But obviously the "no" is not to be taken as an essential modification of the "yes," which fairly sums up the doctrine of the article. True, the author seems to qualify when he says, "A new element here comes in, which compels us, for a moment, to part company with zoology. That element is the conscious power of choice." Yes, with zoology the author is ready to part company for a moment. Coming to the higher life, he has, in this connection, no further occasion for the animal. But not for a moment does he part company with biology, and not therefore with the reign of natural law. Evolution, in carrying man forward into the spiritual world, of course leaves zoology behind. But the same natural law of life—so our author reasons—holds in the spiritual as in the natural world.* A spiritual type

* This is the fundamental fallacy of Dr. Drummond's book, which is built on the theory of the identity of the laws of the natural and spiritual worlds. That there is an analogy or similarity of administrative rule in those laws is obvious. Christ recognized it in his teaching. But *analogy* is not *identity*, as Dr. Drummond assumes. Even natural laws are not identical, for "science teaches that no one law pertaining to any one department of the natural can be introduced into any other;" much less can natural law be introduced into the spiritual, inasmuch as

comes in Christ. But who determines the question of conformity—the type or the subject of the type? The author's answer is direct: "Conformity to the type is secured by the type. Christ makes the Christian."—P. 217. "The conscious power of choice," then, according to the author, must be the conscious power of man to take the choice made for him by the type, not conscious power to make choice for himself between opposing types.

Thus has our author answered his own question, not as directly as the right of truth demands, but as plainly as the self-contradictory philosophy of moral government under necessity admits. While he is not ready to affirm the negative, that there are no other than natural laws, evidently he does not distinctly recognize man as the subject of any other laws, and his logic leaves room for no other freedom in man than to obey natural law with the same unvarying regularity and necessity with which apples, shaken from a tree, obey the law of gravitation.

Natural Law in the New Birth.

Our author finds his chief illustration of natural law in the spiritual world in the law of spiritual biogenesis which threads the phraseology of the New Testament, and is so exactly formulated in the words of Christ to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. . . . That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again."

Let us thoughtfully enter the field here opened to us, and take time for careful survey. Professor Drummond's readers will agree that his treatment of this branch of his subject, if not satisfactory, is highly suggestive and helpful. In opening this field to our view in the light of science he has done the Christian world his best service as a teacher—much better service than to have convinced us (which he was not quite sure of himself) that there are "no other laws in the spiritual world except those which are projections or extensions of natural laws."

"identity of law implies identity of substance." The reader may find these points admirably worked out in Dr. Robert Watts's *Reign of Causality*, chap. x. Mr. White, in a subsequent page, recognizes this distinction.—Editor.

He has come so near showing us how it is that man comes under a higher than natural law, as to suggest the answer to his own challenge: "Let these laws be produced." Professor Drummond reads the words of the Master, not as a highly figurative representation of a great wonder in the economy of grace, but as a direct statement, having the simplicity of science, of a divine law in the evolution of sons of God from the seed of Adam—a law which commends itself as reasonable in the light of obvious analogy.

In this natural reading of the words of the great Teacher, Professor Drummond is not quite alone, though he may be the first to gain for it wide attention, and it is doubtless as a disciple of the Master that he has learned thus to read. Where else in the wide range of theological literature could he have found so clear and direct a statement of the Master's great thought? Strange that the Christian world, with his words all in memory, should be so slow to understand him! Does he not tell us, in the simplest possible language, that the necessity of the spiritual birth in order to spiritual life is no more an occasion for wonder than is the necessity of the natural birth in order to natural life? Yet how many persist in regarding the new birth as a great mystery! Have we quite overlooked the Master's emphatic "Marvel not?"

In pointing out the analogies of the new birth and the new life opened to us in the science of biology, or, as Professor Drummond would have us say, the continuity of biological law in both spheres, he is doubtless the pioneer. He discovers in the necessity of the new birth a companion phenomenon to the law of biogenesis which science has proved holds supremacy in the natural world—that with unvarying uniformity life springs always from life. If he had traced the analogy of this law in the work of the Spirit in man antecedent to his birth into the new life, he might have seen how the Spirit first unconditionally lifts man up to the freedom of probation, where he can begin to act for himself, and in obedience to a higher law, to resist the law of natural inclination and comply with the conditions of the new birth.

Practically the New Testament doctrine of *spiritual death*, *the new birth*, *the old man*, *the new man*, *the natural man*, *the spiritual man*, *eternal life*, has not been obscure. Those who

have tried the Christian doctrine have experimental assurance that it is of God. But the philosophy of the new life has been to us somewhat as though hidden in cipher, till at length science has given us the key. We may see how natural it was that the Master should speak in this language, and that the disciples, inspired by him, should do the same. Experience of the new life and the inspiration of their Master did not unroll for the elect disciples the scroll of natural history, but it gave them the clear insight of genius into the practical working of the saving plan. But the great Revealer was truth itself. Whether under his human limitations all the fields of knowledge were open to his vision let us not ask. But beyond a doubt he grasped in its full breadth every truth proclaimed by him. We may reasonably expect that with new unfoldings of science his word will open to us in some aspects as a new revelation. While the words *biology* and *biogenesis* were yet unknown in the schools of earth, to this great Teacher come from God the whole science of life was in command. In using the language of this science he chose the only fit medium to convey his thought. The necessity and reasonableness of the new birth, in the transformation of the natural man to the likeness of the Son of God, rest with scientific assurance on the solid basis of natural law. As there is no passing from the inorganic to the organic sphere—from the kingdom of death to the kingdom of natural life—but by birth into life through the agency of life, so there is no passing from the inferior life inherited by the birth of the flesh upward into a spiritual life but by a new birth from above.

By the natural birth man comes only under natural law, the same law as the worm, the insect, the bird, the lion are under, and by this birth, too, he comes into possession, only in larger measure, of the same kind of freedom—freedom to do as by natural law he is inclined to do. The natural man cannot, of himself, unaided rise to the higher life of God's kingdom, but the kingdom of God must first come down to him and spiritually vitalize him. Till thus vitalized by the Spirit, how much soever you train and culture him he is as dead to spiritual life as a marble statue is to natural life.

So far the operation of natural law in the advancement of man into the new life, as pointed out by the author, commends

itself as reasonable * and in accord with experience, and finds its best statement in the words of the Master, as given in John's gospel.

Here two questions arise: Where does this work of spiritual vitalization begin? and, What does it first do for a man? According to Professor Drummond this work begins at the instant of the new birth, and its first work is to make the child of the flesh a child of God. If there is a state which can be called spiritual embryo, it is not antecedent to the new birth, but subsequent. At one instant the man, however highly developed and noble in moral character, is purely a natural man. At the next instant he has entered into the kingdom of God; he has been born of the Spirit into the atmosphere of the new life; he has come into vital connection with the Son of God as his type of character, and his transformation to the likeness of the Son is in process.

According to this, the man himself has nothing to do in connection with his new birth except as his will is brought into conformity by the sovereign agency of the Christ type. Till he finds himself a new-born child of God he has only the freedom of an intelligent animal. As we might expect of a mind so clear and so honest, Professor Drummond accepts the conclusion his reasoning involves. With him, up to the instant of the new birth the highest possible moral character is but an outgrowth of the natural man under culture, and has no substantial value.

* True, so far as the conformity of the doctrine of regeneration to the law of biogenesis which teaches that "life springs from antecedent life." But when Dr. Drummond affirms that "*the touch of life*" is the producing cause of both spiritual and natural life he is not, as Dr. Watts shows, "scientifically correct." He pushes the analogy too far. In nature, life proceeds from a living germ or life-cell, from which the future organism is developed and sustained by a process in which similar germs or life-cells are produced. In regeneration the Holy Spirit conveys no such "life-cell" into the human soul. But by a mysterious process he gives a quickening power to truth, whereby it becomes clear to the intellect, potential in the conscience, and persuasive to the will. Hence, except in its conformity to the law which requires that life shall spring from antecedent life, there is no such analogy as Dr. Drummond claims. Mr. White, further on in this article, gives a far more scriptural account of the Spirit's part in regeneration than is implied in Dr. Drummond's exaggerated application to it of the law of biogenesis. —EDITOR.

How Man is Made the Subject of a Higher than Natural Law.

There must be a flaw in this logic somewhere. Doubtless there are in human beings, as part of the outfit of probation, certain amiable qualities which come by natural-birth inheritance, and these are capable of cultivation as products of the earth. The morality which consists alone in natural goodness, like every thing else which is beautiful in nature, will prove but transient. But the heavenly Teacher recognized a morality in those who seem not to have been conscious of serving him, or even of having known him, having in it the essential of religion itself, as witness his memorable words: "Inasmuch as ye have done it [visited the sick and the imprisoned, clothed the naked, fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty] unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." Is it not, indeed, the moral quality in religion itself which gives it its chief value? The ecstasy of religious experience must not be mistaken for religion itself. Is it not rather the witnessing love that the heavenly Father is well pleased with a soul which has come into the right moral attitude toward him?

Shall we conclude that following the lead of the law of natural life in the spiritual world has misled the author? No, it is the gifted author rather who has missed the lead of law. In tracing the law of biogenesis in the spiritual world Professor Drummond has left out of the account an essential fact; namely, that the beginning of the work of the Spirit in man—the begetting in him of the spiritual-life principle—is not at the instant of the new birth, but is probably always antecedent to actual entrance into the conscious life of God's kingdom.

Proceeding on the hypothesis that the new birth is the very starting-point of a higher than animal life in man, the author is thus consistent with himself in his low estimate of possible character under any conditions antecedent to regeneration proper. We do not need to be told that this leaves no room, prior to the new birth, for the freedom of moral agency. It is impossible to see when or how, in consistency with this hypothesis, any real freedom in man to choose for himself can come into exercise at all. Up to the time of the new birth man is what his antecedents and environments make him. By

the new birth he is made a child of God. His own agency has nothing to do in the case except as that agency is drafted in by sovereign grace.

But is not the basic assumption on which all this thinking rests out of harmony with what we know of the operation of this great law of life in both the natural and the spiritual world? In the animal kingdom birth is never the very beginning of life. Germ and germination, and, with certain completeness, organic development and growth, are all antecedent to the natural birth. If we may look for the continuity of this natural law in the spiritual world, shall we not reasonably expect to find that the beginning of spiritual life is also antecedent to actual birth into child-relationship to God?

Surely this expectation has the sanction of the inspired word, and accords with the common faith and experience of Christians. The Lord came to Abraham, and other Old Testament worthies, and talked with them, and planted in them the germ of spiritual life, apparently long before he brought them to the clear consciousness of sons of God. He came to the upright, truth-loving Roman centurion and to the praying, alms-giving Cornelius, doubtless before they had heard his name, and helped them to be good men, cherishing "the spirit of faith and the purpose of righteousness." He comes, we are assured, wherever he finds faithful parental nurture, into the hearts of our little ones, begetting in them an embryo spiritual life years before they attain to the capacity for Christian self-consciousness. He comes to every man whom he holds accountable in the conscience, calling him to duty and to the self-denial which it involves. He comes with needed help wherever he beholds sincere endeavor to resist the temptations and bear the burdens and keep the trusts of life. In due time, the best time, he comes to every man to awaken him to a consciousness of his deeper spiritual needs—his need to be born from above into the new life of a child of God.

Thus, following the analogy of law where the author overlooked its lead, we find in these antecedents to the new-birth agencies of the Spirit where and how the freedom of moral agency begins. It comes not by natural development, but by spiritual endowment. So far all men are saved unconditionally. They are saved to the freedom of a fair probation.

The Chief Faults of the Book.

One of the excellent things in Professor Drummond's book, worthy to be emphasized, is its masterly exposition and illustration of God's part in the work of man's salvation. A marked defect of the book is, that it comes little short of ignoring man's part, altogether; that, logically, it quite excludes man as a free agent from any part. The author seems to have read all the appeals of the inspired word to men, not as addressed to free moral agents, but rather as dynamic appliances by which God works upon men, and therefore as subsidiary to the type of character for every man predetermined. He refers to the command, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling," as the "one outstanding verse which seems at first sight on the other side."—P. 218. Why speak of this passage as though exceptional in its voice—"one outstanding verse?" This is but a specimen passage of hundreds which with equal clearness and force condition the salvation of man upon his own endeavor. And the command is emphasized, not nullified, by the statement which follows: "for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do." By the work of God in us comes the accountable freedom or power by which we begin our work, and the whole system of agencies by which he carries forward his work in us is to this end—the upholding and enlargement of our freedom. The argument of the passage is, Work for your life, for God is helping you to work—giving you opportunity. First of all he works in us by setting the will free from bondage to natural inclination, making it possible for us to say "No" to the carnal man and to take hold of the morally good. Then he works in us by addressing our intelligence; unfolding to us truth, and appealing to us with motive, commands, prohibitions, promises, warnings, threatenings. And this is seconded by an all-embracing system of providential helps opening to us fields of activity suited to our needs and adaptations, and leading us in our endeavors. True, Christian character matures by growth, but only as we obey the command, "Grow in grace." True, Christian completeness comes by a transformation; but the great change follows our loyal response to the call of duty, "Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind."

True, religion is a treasure given; but it comes to us, not in car-loads independently of our agency, but as goodly pearls, one by one, the rewards of diligent seeking.

But the great fault of the book is the unworthy conception of God involved in its theory. From this the fascinating qualities of the book largely divert for the time the reader's attention; but the unhappy effect, especially upon thoughtful minds, is sure in some degree to follow. To take from man freedom to choose the type of character to which he will be conformed, in effect reduces God's part in man's career and destiny to that of an infinite artist shaping plastic substance to the pattern of all types of character, good and bad, at his will. The notion of a God who can require of a subject that which he has not given him power to do is credible to neither the intelligence nor the heart of man. To the absurdity of moral government on the basis of necessity, immortality for the elect only offers some relief, but no defense. Of such seed-sowing, not prevented by counter-agencies, truth requires us to say, a harvest of skepticism is the legitimate product. It is just to add that, against this result, the spirit of the book—its reverence, its candor, its fearlessness, and the very audacity of its self-contradictions—is a not ineffective protest. But there remains occasion in the reading of the book to elect with care between its gems of truth and its subtle errors. With the unfaith in regard to both God and man which it theoretically involves, how grandly contrasts the Christian conception of a heavenly Father who has in every soul of man the ideal of a perfected, crowned son of God, and who, for the attainment of this noble character and destiny, gives to all equal and perfect opportunity!

Summary Statement.

Thus far we have looked out upon our field of inquiry from another's stand-point. A summing up of conclusions reached, and something more—a summary statement of the relations of freedom and law as seen from our point of view—may with advantage supplement our imperfect review.

The distinction of moral law from natural law is as fundamental as the distinction of organic from inorganic nature, and of spiritual life from natural life. "It is quite true," says

Professor Drummond in his Introduction, "that when we pass from the inorganic to the organic we come upon a new set of laws." If analogy may be accepted as authority, with greater reason may we expect in crossing the wider gulf from animal life to moral accountability to come upon other new laws—laws sharply distinguished as moral. It is by a law of laws that we look for new laws as we ascend to higher realms of being.

It is, let it be here observed, with moral law as distinguished from natural law, rather than with the spiritual world as distinguished from the material, that our question is directly concerned. We have no occasion to object to the thought that the spiritual world may be regarded as a higher natural world. The children of God are born into spiritual life out of the lower world of nature, and they carry into it all the essentials of their being. What they leave behind when translated is but the garment of flesh, thrown by because they have no further use for it. With the spiritual world experience has not yet made us sufficiently acquainted to justify us in much philosophizing. Soul life, distinct on the one side from animal life and on the other side from spiritual life, Christians generally accept as a fact, but who is able to give it clear definition? But we know perfectly what moral law is, and we know that we are subjects of moral law. Moral law, surely, cannot be classed with natural law, nor can it in any proper sense be called natural. Natural laws are the rules by which God works for man. Moral laws, on the contrary, are the rules by which he requires man to work with him, and by which he leads man, if he will be led, upward into the higher spiritual life.

Of course it is in a figure that we speak of law as an agent or power. Law is a power only as it is the will of the Lawgiver. There is no causality in law, which is simply the order of nature throughout the empire of God. As far as nature goes unaided by a power above nature, natural law represents a force which is irresistible, and so throughout its wide domain it excludes accountability. Whatever, therefore, is of nature only is under the absolute dominion of the laws of nature. Such is the case with all mere animals. Such would be the case with a man, however complete in physical structure and intellectual capacity, if he were but an animal. All which is only saying, nature cannot annul or overcome nature. Nature

in all its departments is but a thing or system of things purely instrumental in its purpose. Its value is its usefulness as a means. In this world, and doubtless in the world above us, it is intended to be the soul's servant, not its master. Natural law carries forward the man born of the flesh in growth and development till he attains capacity for the moral and the spiritual, and, for aught we know, may forever attend him with its friendly aid.

No one imagines that each distinct world has a set of laws exclusively its own and no other. We are subjects, in the present world, of both natural and moral law; a fact vitally related to the question of freedom both as to its nature and its bounds. With the beginning of spiritual life we become also subjects of spiritual laws.

To the extent that we are able clearly to trace natural law, it is every-where firm standing-ground. Our scientists are right in asserting that whatever natural law unmistakably teaches is true. But science, to be true to herself, must recognize as equally sure ground the higher law of moral obligation. Every clear wording forth of the will of God—in nature, in the human consciousness, and in the inspired word—is sure. If comparison were admissible, certainly it must be of moral law that we should say what Professor Drummond affirms of natural law: "There is about it a sense of solidity which belongs to nothing else in the world."—P. 17.

Plainly, not every law is operative in all realms. The laws of life find no field for their operation till we rise above the inorganic to the organic world. So, too, moral and spiritual laws have no field for their operation till we come to the spheres of moral agency and spiritual life. The law of gravitation reigns wherever there is matter, the law of growth wherever there is life. Natural inclination is unchallenged law wherever there is animal life with power of voluntary action not under moral law. The law of moral obligation reigns wherever there is the freedom of moral agency, either in the willing obedience of its subjects or in their condemnation and overthrow.

Parallel to these laws, and in harmony with them, is the law of freedom from its lowest to its highest form. Freedom is the one law which, as far as our vision reaches, we are able to trace in ever-widening empire through all realms. All other

laws open the way to freedom, and it operates in obedience to them and under the limitations which they fix. In obedience to the law of gravitation, the apple loosed from the tree is free to descend till it meets the ground in a straight line toward the earth's center; but it is not free to deviate from this line by a hair's breadth. In obedience to the laws of life and growth the acorn is free to rise, an infant oak, into the sunlight, to throw downward its sturdy roots and upward its strong, thrifty branches, and under favoring conditions to reproduce its kind. But it is not free to grow into any thing else than an oak, and just the particular oak which it becomes. In obedience to inclination the insect, the bird, and, in the absence of a moral incentive, the man, is free to do the one thing he finds to be his pleasure. In obedience to the law of moral right, enforced by the voice of God in his conscience, the moral agent is free, absolutely and equally free—not, as some teach, to an indefinite number of alternatives—but to obey or resist the predominant natural inclination which seeks indulgence, and to rise, if he will, to the higher freedom of conscious moral integrity by doing the one thing he feels it his duty to do.

Nothing that lives under the exclusive reign of natural law can have any thing to do in determining the type to which he is to be conformed. Under moral law the subject man *must* elect for himself, in perfect freedom, between the two opposing types, to which he will be conformed—the Christ type or the sense-world.

For this noble freedom, as God gives it to us, we must claim more than even libertarian writers have been wont to affirm—an absolute freedom, the decision of which cannot from any influence in earth or heaven be concluded upon with the slightest probability. It is but an apparent qualification of this statement that the moral agent, by the law of habit in every exercise of his freedom, himself creates a probability as to its future exercise. He may thus impair and destroy this high trust, or, by fidelity to it, he may make the law of habit his servant and friend in helping him to keep it unimpaired to the end.

Freedom, we perceive, is not a lawless law. The will is not, as some would make it, a demigod in the human breast to set up man as an independent actor. The moral agent chooses

only between masters—natural inclination and conviction of duty; always some particular duty. He elects between two ways, neither of which is of his own making. He never makes law, but in every act he obeys law; either the higher law of God, which calls him upward, or the lower law of natural appetite or desire, which governs the natural man.

Not only is the absolute freedom of moral agency consistent with law; it is the clearest demand of law. Without such freedom the moral world were every-where out of joint with itself. Moral law, with its array of statutes and penalties, were itself the height of inconsistency, the perfection of absurdity, infinite injustice, a monstrosity in the constitution of the universe!

Shall we appeal to our Bible? The absolute freedom of man as an accountable being, and the dependence of his character and destiny upon the use he makes of this freedom, is the great doctrine of the book with regard to man. Moreover, the testimony of the word in this particular is corroborated by what every man knows of himself, and is confident must be true of every other man. To be conscious of moral obligation is to be conscious of freedom to meet such obligation, according to the axiom, "The whole includes the part." If the competency of the witness as to freedom be challenged, so must it be as to moral obligation. Accountability and freedom are inseparable, and must stand or fall together. Doubtless we often wrongly estimate the measure of our responsibility as well as that of our fellow-men, but the fact of such responsibility does not admit question. There is nothing else a moral being knows better than that he owes allegiance to a power above him.

Surely the higher law and the higher freedom we have been considering spring not out from nature either as projections upward or downward. They come down from God, and they come together. Into the consciousness of this higher law and higher freedom every man comes by an inspiration from above. The beginning of his moral personality might be called a new birth, in distinction from his natural birth. It is *a* new birth, but not *the* new birth. It is antecedent and preparatory to the new birth proper. The Spirit has begun its work in him. An omnipotent Presence has lifted him up to the perfect freedom

of a moral agent. May we not say that in the Spirit the real Christ has already come to him, to be, if he will have him, his type of character?

Where shall such a man be classed? There are two widely distinguished cases. The man who has met the helping Spirit only with resistance, and has chosen instead of the heavenly an earthly type of character, is a natural man, dead to spiritual life, and dead also in sin, and the work of his moral bankruptcy and ruin has begun. But the man who, though not yet called by the Spirit in connection with Christianizing agencies to the higher life of a child of God, yet is earnestly seeking to obey the law of God written in his heart, is doing that which is acceptable to God. And by "patient continuance in well-doing," according to his light, to the end, he may doubtless successfully accomplish the work of his probation. Meantime he is cultivating and treasuring up love for the morally good, and his transformation to the likeness of Christ goes forward. Surely such a man is already something more than a natural man. He is in essentials of character a child of God, and such he is sure to become if he keep faithfully the trust given him. God knows him as a child, though he may not know God as his Father. Does he need to be born of the Spirit? Yes, just as a plant sprung from a seed buried deep in the earth, which has so far struggled upward in an underground life, has need to be born into the sunlight and free air. By every act of his faithful life he has been reaching upward and Godward, and the divine Father has been drawing him, though unconsciously to himself, nearer and nearer to him. It would not be probation in death, nor beyond death, if his exit from earth should prove to be the point of his birth into the full consciousness of the new life.

This is not altogether a fancied case. Perhaps the majority of good men and women in this world have not yet come into a clear Christian consciousness. How frequent cases of successful probation may be in absolute heathendom no man may answer. Of course the measure of requirement of our unenlightened brethren is equitably adjusted to their ability. The ways of God are equal. But in the dim light of a perverted or a beclouded Christianity, among those who try honestly, and by the grace given them in a good degree successfully, to conform

their lives to the ethics of the Sermon on the mount, the clear experience which comes by birth into child-relationship to God is doubtless the exceptional case.

Before regeneration proper a man may come near the kingdom of God. He may be of the kingdom in spirit and aim. The little children who came to Christ, as are other little ones, were of the kingdom. They were in spiritual embryo, not by the birth of the flesh, but by the inbreathing of the Spirit of soul-life. But proximity to the kingdom of God is not sufficient. Each man for himself must enter into the kingdom of God by a spiritual birth. "Except a man be born from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God"—come into the consciousness of a child of God—any more than a man born blind can come into the kingdom of light except he be born into it by the gift of sight. It is in the heaven-born freedom of moral agency that we seek the kingdom of God, come near to it, comply with the conditions of admittance to it, come into it, welcome it to the heart.

When a man is thus born into the consciousness of God he comes under the discipline of love and into the freedom of love. Is this a new law and a new freedom? It is new, as the old man by a new birth becomes a new man. He is the same man now entered upon a higher life. So the law of love is the same moral law now enthroned in a heart in love with the law and the Lawgiver; and the same freedom of moral agency in the exercise of which the way of life was chosen has now become the freedom of a child of God.

As the work of his spiritual transformation progresses the freedom of the child of God steadily enlarges. From the first freedom retains certain essential characteristics. It is perfect in its kind, and it follows the lines of law. But between freedom at its nether and its upper poles how immeasurable the contrast! The abused freedom of the natural man is self-ward, earthward, deathward. The freedom of the perfected spiritual man is upward, Godward, the freedom of life eternal.

L. White.

Art. VI.—NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

If it is true, as London critics have told us, that America stands at the head of the art of story-telling, it must be conceded that the genius of Hawthorne, perhaps more than of any other, has won for our country that distinction; and therefore all that can be learned of his life, character, and works must possess a lively interest for all Americans.

Hawthorne has a double hold upon us, for while, with Emerson and Carlyle, he compels our intellectual homage, with Longfellow and Charles Lamb he wins our hearts. Hawthorne shrank from the publicity which biography gives to private life; he therefore frequently and earnestly requested that no biography should ever be written of him. But that was impossible. The world will not concede to such men as the authors of *The Scarlet Letter*, of the *Pickwick Papers*, and of *Sartor Resartus* the luxury of personal reserve. In an important sense such men cannot have a private life. They must relinquish this precious possession as part of the price of fame, and of the luxury of enriching the race. Sometimes the world is the loser through its persistent curiosity, though that curiosity be inspired by a genuine love, and the hero becomes as unheroic to all the world as he had before been to his valet. But even in this case the world is most certainly the gainer, and that, too, in a large and increasing measure; for, back of the brilliant genius which has charmed us, there stands revealed a thoroughly human character, which will be loved notwithstanding its confessed imperfections.

It has been said that the world has a right to only such portions of an author's inner life and character as are necessarily revealed in his published writings; but even that proposition must not be applied in all cases. A man whose life-work has been of great service to the nation or the world, and who, therefore, in the best sense has come to be a man of note, cannot justly demand that the record of his every-day life (which is really the foundation of his greatness) or his rich reminiscences of the notable men and events of his times be buried with him.

More than twenty years have now elapsed since Hawthorne's

death; men have reached a settled estimate of his genius; his personality is far enough removed to allow a proper perspective; and it seems clear that no further restrictions ought to be imposed upon the just desires of students and lovers of his works to know more of the man than his imaginative writings can show us. We therefore are neither surprised nor grieved that Lathrop and James, in their brief but admirably discriminating and appreciative sketches, have approximated the verge of respectful deference to the wishes of their friend; and that, at last, his son, Julian Hawthorne (who certainly had the best right to set aside his father's wish, and who alone possessed the requisite materials for a complete biography), has given to us, in *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, a book in which the real Hawthorne stands revealed.

Hawthorne was in some respects a much-misunderstood man, and in these volumes his son has, with a bold and authoritative hand, removed from our sight the mystical, weird, and mythical romancer of the critics—the man of morbid mind and fantastic imagination—and with praiseworthy gravity and modesty, and for the most part with much delicacy of taste, has set forth instead, in his public manifestations of character and intellect and in the faithful details of his private life as well, Hawthorne as he really was—a man of thoroughly sane mental habits, of healthy sensibilities and warm sympathies, of great dignity and grace of character, tenderly unselfish in his home life, a man of the world in the best sense, a pure-minded and honest gentleman, in every way worthy the high place to which the good sense and the sincere love of his more discerning countrymen have exalted him.

Just how far a biographer should give the details of the private life and associations of his subject is a question fairly open to discussion; and many will decide that just here Julian Hawthorne has gone considerably beyond the limits prescribed by good judgment as well as good taste. When a man has passed from human sight it is justly permitted us to speak more freely of him than when he was among us. Publicity may also be more freely given to his recorded opinions respecting things and events, and even of persons, provided his prejudices and piques are not paraded. So long as the privacy which pertains to a man's intercourse, with his family and

intimate friends, and which always leads him to the expression of opinions and sentiments which no one else has the right to hear, is not violated, it is proper, through his unpublished writings, to let him speak to the world with a freedom that he could not have ventured upon when living. Still, a man's dying does not destroy his claim to confidence and the privacy of his opinions; and neither editor nor reader has the right to deliberately invade that privacy simply to gratify a morbid curiosity.

We are told that Carlyle insisted on having at least some of his ungenerous and ungracious grumblings about men and women given to the public after his death, and in that he certainly sinned against public morals, and so became guilty of what has aptly been termed "post-mortem suicide." But Hawthorne shrank from unnecessary notoriety, and deprecated the spirit which insisted, at the last, upon giving to the world his words uttered to friends or written in his journals in the exercise of a private judgment which ought forever to have been held sacred. Whatever may be said of the father's unkindness, or even untruthfulness, in recording such sharp and ungracious estimates as are now made public, surely nothing can justify the son in publishing the unjust words about Margaret Fuller and her husband, or the contemptuous opinion of Tupper, who is still living, and whose generous hospitality Hawthorne accepted and enjoyed. There are many indications of moral littleness (not to say meanness) in this part of Julian Hawthorne's performance. He certainly must have permitted a personal pique to influence him or he could not have ignored so completely, in his sketch of the family, his own sister and her well-known husband. The bad taste of this omission is the more apparent when contrasted with the over-liberal share of his own autobiography with which the writer often loads the pages, describing the feats of the "little Julian and the big Julian," with a minuteness and persistency which disregard the reader's weariness.

All the world knows that, at least in the outset of his career, Hawthorne was greatly indebted to the warm friendship, enthusiastic appreciation, and business enterprise of his publisher, Mr. James T. Fields; and there is not a more graceful production of the kind in our literature than his loving reminiscences

of the great romancer published in "Our Whispering Gallery," in the twenty-seventh volume of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Of all great authors Hawthorne most needed such assistance as Fields gave him. It is doubtful if he ever could have gained his great popularity without the aid of such a friend; at least his success must have been much longer deferred. Hawthorne and his wife seemed to fully appreciate that fact, and they invariably, through life, expressed unbounded gratitude, and counted Fields as a brother beloved. It is therefore the more inexcusable in their son to parade his personal dislike of Mr. Fields by an omission so conspicuous as to seriously mar the symmetry of his work.

Notwithstanding these defects, which in all candor we are bound to notice, Julian Hawthorne has given us a most interesting and valuable book. I concede great difficulty in writing the biography of a true man so as to make it of real and permanent value. Such a man has found life a battle; his vehemence, his resentment, and all the passionate opposition of his nature to the sins and meannesses of mankind have been often aroused. Personal or social wrongs have had to be righted or chafed under; and to say that he was not always right in his estimates, in his purposes, in his methods, or even in his tempers, is simply to say he was a man. And if such things are withheld from those who would know his life, the record is, of course, valueless. Hence, with the before-mentioned exceptions, we admire the prevailing frankness of this book; a frankness tempered, to be sure, with a most unbounded, but still praiseworthy, filial love, and yet which leaves little to be desired, and makes us know Hawthorne as few indeed knew him in life.

Nathaniel Hawthorne was born July 4, 1804, in the town of Salem, Mass. He came of good old Puritan stock (the original Hawthorne landed in Massachusett in 1630), showing many honored names in the early history of the colony, among which were two or three well known in public life; notably one who in his capacity of judge not only dealt out Puritan justice to pestiferous Quakers, but examined and condemned to death certain persons accused of witchcraft, one of whom, according to tradition, invoked a curse upon him and upon his children's children.

Nathaniel's manner of life as a child, and even as a young man, was by no means favorable to a healthful mental development. His social surroundings were also, to quite an extent, a hinderance to him. Puritanism, extreme Calvinism, the narrow prejudices of social and even religious life, the tyranny of custom and the authority of tradition, all left an impress upon his mind and character which, to say the least, was a life-long inconvenience to him, and helps to account for some of his most marked, but least attractive, peculiarities. His mother was a woman of more than average intellectual endowments. Her husband, who was a sea-captain, died when she was in her twenty-eighth year, and "from an exaggerated, almost Hindoo-like construction of the law of seclusion which the public taste of that day imposed upon widows she withdrew entirely from society, and actually remained a strict hermit to the end of her long life." This state of affairs could not fail to have a harmful effect upon the three children, Elizabeth, Nathaniel, and Louisa. They practically shared her seclusion. Excepting Nathaniel's street associations with boys of his own age, among whom he was an acknowledged leader, they knew nothing of social intercourse. As they grew up they exhibited striking eccentricities of character, and a morbid aversion for society, which in the case of the two sisters led them to become, even in mature life, almost as complete recluses as their mother. The whole family came to regard themselves as having but little in common with the rest of the world. The sisters were both women of marked mental ability, and accomplished some respectable literary work in their day. The mother and children seem to have been strongly attached to each other, and to have led a very pleasant home life.

We have few details of Hawthorne's early boyhood. He is said to have been a remarkably handsome and pleasant child, with beautiful eyes and golden curls. When a very little child he displayed a passionate fondness for books. At six years of age, probably for lack of more juvenile literature, his favorite book was *Pilgrim's Progress;* and at nine years he was deep in the enjoyment of Shakespeare, Milton, Thomson, and Pope. The first book he bought with his own money was Spenser's *Faerie Queene.* Even at this early period he was famous for inventing long stories, wild and fanciful, and yet

extremely graphic. In his reading and inventing he was left pretty much to himself, which was probably a fortunate circumstance, since, thereby, his peculiar genius had opportunity for a fair start before any body's artificial rules for cultivation were applied to dwarf its luxuriance.

When about nine years old his foot was lamed by an accident at school, and he was compelled to go on crutches for a year, and indeed he was not perfectly restored till he was twelve years old. He was a bright student, and the favorite of his master, Joseph Worcester, the author of the dictionary; nevertheless he manifested a grievous disinclination to go to school, and this lameness favoring his natural repugnance, we are told he never did go half as much as other boys.

When Hawthorne was about ten, his mother, with her three children, took up her residence upon the banks of Sebago Lake in Maine, where the family owned a large tract of land, and where the lad was permitted to run almost wild, fishing, hunting, and enjoying to the fullest possible extent his long rambles in the picturesque wilderness. This free manner of life greatly benefited his health, making him robust and strong, while at the same time it stimulated his imagination and developed his natural tendency to thoughtfulness. The only drawback was, that life in this woody, thinly populated region seemed to still further develop what he has called his "cursed habits of solitude." Those were delightful days, and, as it proved in the end, valuable days; but after two or three years his good mother began to see that the boy's school training could not longer be neglected; so he was sent back to Salem, and there fitted, by a private tutor, for college.

Even during these busy days of preparation he managed to read almost every thing within his reach. Being left to follow his own inclinations in such matters, he thus early accumulated and stored up a vast fund of out-of-the-way as well as more usual knowledge, especially calculated to stimulate his gift and furnish him materials for future romancing.

In his seventeenth year Hawthorne entered Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Maine. Bowdoin at that time was a homely, frugal college, not without its attractions for the simple New England lads who filled its halls, and affording a fair foundation for future success to many who afterward became famous

in the land. Among Hawthorne's fellow-students was H. W. Longfellow, whose success as a poet entitles him to fairly divide with the great romancer the honor of being the most distinguished of American men of letters. With two of his classmates—Franklin Pierce, afterward President of the United States, and Horatio Bridge, who finally achieved distinction as an officer in the navy—he formed an intimate friendship, which continued through life.

In the prefatory letter of *The Snow Image*, addressed to Bridge, Hawthorne gives us a very pretty picture of school-days, with the opinion of at least one of his associates as to his own life-work:

> If any body is responsible at this day for my being an author, it is yourself. I know not whence your faith came; but while we were lads together at a country college—gathering blueberries in study hours under those tall academic pines; or watching the great logs as they tumbled along the current of the Androscoggin, or shooting pigeons and gray squirrels in the woods; or catching trout in that shadowy little stream which, I suppose, is still wandering riverward through the forest—though you and I will never cast a line in it again—two idle lads, in short (as we need not fear to acknowledge now), doing a hundred things the faculty never heard of, or else it had been worse for us—still it was your prognostic of your friend's destiny that he was to be a writer of fiction.

He was a fair student, most proficient in the languages, especially Latin; and noted for his knack at writing graceful English themes, with now and then a few sophomoric verses. He himself testifies that on the whole he was "an idle student, negligent of college rules and the Procustean details of academic life, rather choosing to brood over and nurse his own fancies than to dig into Greek roots and be numbered among learned Thebans." Nevertheless, he graduated with a creditable standing, and, judging from his writings immediately after, made a considerable advance toward the attainment of his wonderfully pure and strong English style.

One thing especially worthy of mention is the habit he at this time formed of making careful notes each day of events and thoughts and observations most worthy of record. This habit was continued through life, as is evidenced by the large number of diaries, journals, and note-books which he left behind him, and from which his friends have published such

copious and even wearisome extracts. It was plainly his purpose to perfect himself, by constant and painstaking practice, in the art of composition, and at the same time to catch, at the right moment, his best thoughts and conceits. From this repository he constantly drew in the composition of his published works. The germ, at least, of nearly every tale or romance he completed, as well as vast numbers of carefully wrought paragraphs, and even chapters, afterward transferred almost unaltered to his books, may be found in these records.

Having some slender means of support, Hawthorne, on leaving college, returned to Salem, where his mother had again taken up her residence. He was provided with a comfortable room in her house, and instead of immediately fixing upon a profession or calling he sat himself down to deliberately consider what pursuit in life he was best fitted for. Year after year he kept on considering, without coming to any definite conclusion, until at last Providence took the matter entirely out of his hands and decided that he should be the writer he became. There are abundant evidences of an early strength of character, and of an overmastering bent of mind, which show that though the conditions had been vastly more unfavorable than they were he would have overcome them, and somehow or other accomplished the work for which he was unmistakably fitted.

For nine or ten years he lived in his mother's house in Salem before he came to be in any sense famous. His natural tendency toward seclusion was now indulged to the utmost. He tells us, in a little biographical fragment which he wrote in 1853, that, during this hermit period, there were months together that he scarcely held intercourse outside of his own family, seldom going out except at twilight, or only to take the nearest way to the most convenient solitude. He declares that he had very few acquaintances in Salem, and doubts whether so much as twenty people in the town were even aware of his existence.

Still the young man kept toiling away "in his little room under the eaves," reading, writing, and thinking, with the unflagging and painstaking zeal of true genius, "feeling his way through the twilight of dreams into the dusky chambers of that house of thought whose haunted interior none but himself ever visited." Those were weary years, no doubt, but they

brought strength and self-poise to the young writer, and helped him to be conscientious and tireless in his efforts to bring his work to perfection, to seek for and secure his own commendation (and he was ever a most merciless critic of his own productions) as the chief thing worth striving for; and this discipline fitted him forever to resist all temptation to follow the undignified and sometimes contemptible course of many really capable writers who scramble pell-mell, using all possible clap-trap to capture the popular eye and ear, and especially the dollars of those who cannot tell good work from bad.

His health was good, his habits regular; he seems to have really enjoyed life after his peculiar fashion; and the freedom of his movements and the steady swing of his pen prevented his giving way to any tendency toward melancholy. He may have been doubtful whether he could ever so adjust and use the great powers of which he was conscious as to leave his mark upon his generation; but even this could not make him despondent, for he daily experienced the high delights of artistic creation, and of constantly aiming at the best results; and this kept him hopeful in labor and cheerful in heart.

His published writings, during these ten years, were few and far between. While in college he had written a short romance entitled *Fanshawe*, which, three years after graduation, he published at his own expense. It was issued anonymously, and had no sale worth mentioning. It was such a crude affair, and Hawthorne was afterward so ashamed of it, that he did his utmost to exterminate the edition. In this he succeeded so well that, according to Mr. Lathrop, not half a dozen copies are now known to be extant.

Quite a number of his pieces found their way, from time to time, into the *Salem Gazette* and *The New England Magazine*, then published in Boston. These effusions attracted the attention of a few of the most discriminating readers, and at last brought him into contact with S. C. Goodrich, then known as a popular compiler and publisher. For this gentleman he wrote a large part of *Peter Parley's Universal History*, which passed as Goodrich's composition and attained a wide popularity. He also contributed a number of sketches for *The Token*, a popular annual, which not only increased his local reputation, but a few of which received high praise in London.

In 1836 he went to Boston to edit a magazine for Mr. Goodrich, but this arrangement did not long continue. This same year he contributed an article or two for *The Knickerbocker*, edited by L. Gaylord Clark. This was the day of small payments, and his writings brought him but little pecuniary reward. The best of his contributions to the magazines and annuals, together with others heretofore unpublished, he collected, in the year 1837, into a volume entitled *Twice Told Tales*, which event very properly closes the first act of Hawthorne's career of authorship. He says, in the preface to this book:

> The author has a claim to one distinction which, as none of his literary brethren will care about disputing with him, he need not be afraid to mention. He was, for a good many years, the obscurest man of letters in America.

Hawthorne further informs one of his literary friends that these tales

> though not widely successful in their day and generation, had the effect of making me known in my own immediate vicinity; insomuch that, however reluctantly, I was compelled to come out of my owl's nest and lionize in a small way. Thus I was gradually drawn somewhat into the world, and became pretty much like other people.

His long and laborious devotion to his art had now brought forth its first-fruits. There is a calm and mellow maturity about the best of these tales which renders them in no sense second to any of his after productions. At the very outset he struck that high key which, with a few exceptions, he maintained to the end. Longfellow immediately wrote a highly appreciative criticism of the *Twice Told Tales* for the *North American Review*, and in the best literary circles of New England the author was soon acknowledged as a master in the sort of work he had thus far attempted. But as yet he had appealed only to the most refined and delicate literary perception; hence his admirers were still few in number.

Early in 1839 Hawthorne received, through the political influence of his friends, an appointment as weigher and gauger in the Boston Custom House, with a salary of $1,200. He was turned out of office in 1841, and the same year went to take up his abode among the scholarly laborers of the Brook Farm Community, where he formed the acquaintance of George

Ripley, Charles Dana, George William Curtis, Margaret Fuller, and other kindred spirits, and where he gained some knowledge of agriculture and transcendentalism. He withdrew from the community in less than a year, having sunk most of his custom house savings in the unusual, unreasonable, and of course unsuccessful experiment.

His financial affairs were now by no means prosperous, but he was not the man to wait for riches before he began to be happy; so, in the summer of 1842, he was married to Miss Sophia Peabody, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Peabody, of Salem, and sister of Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, who afterward became so well known in New England literary circles. Several years before this Hawthorne had broken away from his hermit life just enough to form the acquaintance of this delightful family. The shy young man was at once drawn toward Miss Sophia, in whom he instinctively recognized a congenial spirit. The attachment was mutual, and the engagement which soon followed was now consummated in what was destined to be an eminently happy union. This marriage was most helpful and satisfying to these rare souls, who remained tender lovers to the end; and in these days of marital infelicity, when convenience and caprice are often consulted in such relations more than either principle or love, this chapter in the great romancer's life, as so faithfully and beautifully given by Julian Hawthorne, must be a potent influence on the side of domestic purity and prosperity. Hawthorne had now the strongest object that a good man has to live for—the love of a good woman; and the influence of this new force that had come into his life is seen in almost every line of his subsequent work. Referring to the light and sweetness of her presence, he said: "I am husband to the month of May!" Her son testifies that

as food and repose nourish and refresh the body, so did she refresh and nourish her husband's mind and heart. In the warmth and light of such companionship as hers, he could not fall into the coldness and gloom of a selfish intellectual habit. She revived his confidence and courage by her gentle humor and cheerfulness; before her unshakable hopefulness and serenity his constitutional tendency to ill-foreboding and discouragement vanished away. Nor was she of less value to him on the merely intellectual side. Her mental faculties were finely balanced and of great capacity;

her taste was by nature highly refined, and was rendered exquisitely so by cultivation.

The enthusiastic devotion of his wife was richly appreciated by Hawthorne, as we learn from his numerous letters, which abound with most graceful and grateful tributes to her influence over him. Immediately after their marriage they took up their abode in the Old Manse, at Concord, Mass. The Manse, which stood in the outskirts of the village in the midst of an orchard and garden, was an historic building, and although old-fashioned to the last degree was nevertheless a most comfortable and picturesque dwelling-place. It was more than a hundred years old, and had been the home of several generations of ministers, ancestors of the celebrated Emerson, who had himself occupied the house for several years, and in the very study of which Hawthorne now took possession had written some of his most beautiful essays and poems.

The three years that Hawthorne spent in retirement here were, probably, the happiest of his life. So supremely happy was his domestic life that he seems not to have appreciated the choice literary society that was always within his reach, betraying, in his writings and journal of that period, a much deeper interest in his relations with vegetable nature, as represented by the squashes of his kitchen-garden and the blossoms and fruit of his apple-trees. He had for near neighbors Emerson, Thoreau, Ellery Channing, James Russell Lowell, Alcott, George Hillard, and several others equally attractive, yet we cannot learn that he spent much time in their society, though he kept up a sort of acquaintance, pleasant enough so far as it went. His preference was for long solitary rambles in field and forest, or a quiet row upon the river, to any other enjoyment he could get outside his own door. In this particular it is clear that he made a serious mistake from the beginning to the end of his career. His work would have lost none of those qualities which make it permanently valuable, but would have gained in power to reach and benefit a much more extended circle of readers, had he mingled more with his fellows and taken a deeper interest in the world of humanity about him. Hawthorne is the object of such loving admiration on the part of the comparatively few who really know him that we cannot but regret that any thing should

shut him off from the great and needy world beyond. But the shadow of that long seclusion at the outset always rested upon his life and work. It was his mistake and the world's misfortune. It effectually prevented him from ever becoming a popular man. Hawthorne became the man he was very much through the influence of his wife, and he became a man in every way worthy such a wife; but we cannot help thinking that their mutual absorption was too complete, amounting to downright selfishness, and excluding them to quite an extent from those wider sympathies so essential to the highest development of character, and so especially important to the highest usefulness of life. Only now and then do we find any evidence whatever that Hawthorne or his wife was much interested in any of the great problems which relate to the social or moral progress of the world. In the main, this self-contained and self-satisfied married pair seem entirely destitute of the "enthusiasm of humanity;" they lived, with almost literal exclusiveness, for themselves and their children. They loved to look out upon the busy human life about them; to note its joys and sorrows, to study its social and moral peculiarities, but always from an artistic stand-point. It was well said, by one of Hawthorne's friends, that "he showed moral insight without moral earnestness." He learned to criticise most unsparingly the world's sins, but seemed to have no suspicion even that it could possibly be his duty to make any sacrifice to help the world to something higher and better.

Most of the sketches in *Mosses from an Old Manse* were written during this first Concord period, and shortly after leaving the Old Manse the inimitable introduction to the collection was prepared, and the whole was published, giving the author a deeper hold upon the few who were capable of appreciating such exquisite work, but not particularly extending his reputation. The *Mosses* perhaps show, on the whole, a wider range of thought and a fuller maturity of the author's peculiar powers than the *Twice Told Tales*, but the latter have usually been preferred by the inner circle of his admirers, as the best work Hawthorne ever did, being a complete epitome of his genius, showing all his fecundity, imagination, and subtilty.

The charming introduction to the *Mosses* is especially delight-

ful to Hawthorne's admirers, since it gives a glimpse of his manner of life and work, and reveals a degree of richness and tenderness of character which but few have reached. Hawthorne's readers thus far belonged for the most part to the class of literary epicures. They were quietly and keenly appreciative rather than enthusiastic; deeming their fine delight in his creations a mark of their own superiority, and placing upon them no obligation to attempt to attract a more popular recognition of their favorite. And yet we cannot help wondering, as we look over the *Tales* and the *Mosses*, at the limited number of readers they secured.

All through life Hawthorne's financial affairs were, on the whole, favorable to literature. He was not meanly poor, like Goldsmith and Johnson, neither was he rich enough at any time to make effort unnecessary. Just at this time, however, he found that all his literary efforts and successes could not supplement his small fixed income sufficiently to meet the increasing demands upon his purse. Hence it became necessary for him to seek other and more remunerative employment; a circumstance which was, in its results, by no means against him, since in order to his complete fitness even for his chosen work he needed to be dragged forth from his retirement now and then, to a more intimate connection with the every-day affairs of life, and a face-to-face acquaintance with its hard realities. The relief he sought came to him through political channels. Though not active in politics, he was a stanch democrat, as were Pierce and others among his intimate friends. Through the influence of these friends he received the appointment of Surveyor in the Custom House at Salem, and thus followed the footsteps of Chaucer, Burns, Wordsworth, and other literary celebrities who have ennobled the same business. So far as his custom house life is concerned, Hawthorne, in his introduction to *The Scarlet Letter*, is his own biographer, and, had we space, we would gladly follow him in his exquisitely graceful and humorous account of his official career. His fellow-officials knew little or nothing of his literary fame. To them he was simply Mr. Hawthorne, with a reputation for great punctuality and faithfulness in the fulfillment of his prosaic duties. Outside of his official life his self-isolation made it almost impossible for them to know him intimately.

In the introduction above referred to he says:

> No longer seeking or caring that my name should be blazoned abroad on title-pages, I smiled to think that it had now another kind of vogue. The custom house marker imprinted it, with a stencil and black paint, on pepper-bags, and baskets of annotto, and cigar-boxes, and bales of all kinds of dutiable merchandise, in testimony that these commodities had paid the impost and gone regularly through the office. Borne on such queer vehicles of fame, a knowledge of my existence, so far as a name conveys it, was carried where it had never been before, and, I hope, will never go again.

Early in 1849 he was removed from office, doubtless to make way for some clamorous partisan of the administration, an act which we certainly cannot now regret, since his custom house life had accomplished all it could for him. Unconsciously the politicians were doing a great service to American letters by compelling him, for lack of more remunerative employment, to return to his pen and to his musings.

On the day of his discharge he went home several hours earlier than usual, in a somewhat despondent mood. Julian Hawthorne says:

> When his wife expressed pleasure and surprise at his prompt reappearance he called her attention to the fact that he had left his head behind him. "O, then," exclaimed Mrs. Hawthorne buoyantly, "you can write your book!" for Hawthorne had been bemoaning himself, for some time back, for not having leisure to write down a story that had long been weighing on his mind. He smiled, and remarked that it would be agreeable to know where their bread and rice were to come from while he was writing the story. But his wife was equal to the occasion. Hawthorne had been in the habit of giving her, out of his salary, a weekly sum for household expenses; and out of this she had every week contrived secretly to save something, until now there was quite a large pile of gold in the drawer of her desk. This drawer she forthwith with elation opened, and triumphantly displayed to him the unsuspected treasure. So he began *The Scarlet Letter* that afternoon, and blessed his stars, no doubt, for sending him such a wife.

When *The Scarlet Letter* was completed Hawthorne took a very gloomy view of his work, and declared that it was either very good or very bad, he could not tell which; but Mrs. Hawthorne, who was the most just of all his critics, was enthusiastically hopeful of its success. Under circumstances

which are most entertainingly described by James T. Fields in *Our Whispering Gallery*, the manuscript was finally submitted to that true friend and successful publisher for his inspection. Fields was captivated by the very first chapter, and sat up all night to finish the story, hastening down to Salem early the next morning to cheer and congratulate the author, and to arrange for its immediate publication.

The long-looked-for, but scarcely expected, day had come at last. Hawthorne had written a book that was popular. Five thousand copies were sold in ten days. Its success was not only immediate but complete. There is great enjoyment in the act of composition—an enjoyment essential to the work in hand—but a writer can hardly keep up either heart or work without the hope of fame or profit, or both; lacking this, he will be very apt to fall out by the way. To Hawthorne that auspicious day had now come. *The Scarlet Letter* dealt with a great subject of universal interest, and dealt with it in such a way as to command universal attention, if not sympathy. From the day of its issue his fame was secure as the greatest writer of romance America had yet produced, and from that day to this his influence in the realm of literature has been steadily widening.

The Scarlet Letter was produced during what was probably the most gloomy period of the writer's history, and its tone is thoroughly somber. It is a most fearful, because a most masterly, delineation of sin and its retribution, with a thoroughly Puritan back-ground and a thoroughly Puritan spirit. It is full of the moral presence of the hardest but truest race that ever lived, and a plea for the reign of truth which in simple eloquence has probably never been equaled in fiction. It is the most complete of Hawthorne's novels, and is distinguished from all his subsequent romances by that charm, better realized than described, which belongs only to the one work of a writer in which he first touches his highest mark. Literary men could now say, in all truthfulness, that America had at last produced a novel that would take its place in the very forefront of the world's literature. The book was thoroughly American: it could have been written nowhere else but in New England, and by a direct descendant of the old Puritans, and yet it could be sent to Old England as the peer of any thing she had heretofore sent to us. Indeed, its appearance was a literary event

which was important enough to mark the beginning of a new era in American literature; and it would seem there was a sort of general consciousness of this in the enthusiastic welcome which Hawthorne's countrymen accorded to it in every part of the land.

In the summer of 1850 Hawthorne and his family removed to a cottage in the country among the mountains of Lenox, Mass., where, after recovering from the severe strain upon his mental and physical powers made by the production, under such unfavorable circumstances, of *The Scarlet Letter,* he settled down to the life of a man who makes literature his sole occupation. During the two years he spent in the seclusion of this lonely corner of New England, besides several shorter tales, he produced his second great romance, *The House of the Seven Gables.* This is the largest of his three American novels, and by some good judges is accounted his best. It has a richness of tone, a suggestiveness, and a sort of "expansive quality," intensified by the thread of mystery which runs through it all, and which gives it a fascination peculiarly its own, but it is neither so well rounded nor so complete as *The Scarlet Letter.*

It seems to me the principal fault to be found in it is the impression it leaves that the author has not fully carried out his plan; that he had certain purposes which he either lacked strength or patience to fulfill; hence we lay down the book somewhat vexed by a feeling that it is not properly ended. There is the same imaginative strain here that gives the charm to all Hawthorne's works, and which, like sweet music, or a perfect combination of colors, or a rich perfume, is indefinable, but which, after all, is the real power which has exalted him to his high place as a romancer. The general idea of the story is "that the wrong-doing of one generation lives into the successive ones, and, divesting itself of every temporary advantage, becomes a pure and uncontrollable mischief." This idea is carried out with a force and a fertility, and, withal, a delicacy, which are beyond all possible praise. Hawthorne honors his Puritan descent, and makes the most of the suggestion given by the curse pronounced upon his own magisterial ancestor, in the stern fidelity with which he here expands to its logical conclusion his theory of the hereditary transmission of family qualities, and the visiting the sins of the fathers

on the heads of their children. While we cannot give even a reluctant assent to all his opinions, either stated or implied, we are forced to admire his skill in placing the full weight of their influence upon the mind. Judge Pyncheon, Miss Hepzibah Pyncheon, Clifford, Halgrave, and even Uncle Venner (the old wood-sawyer who boasts "that he has seen a good deal of the world, not only in people's kitchens and back-yards, but at the street corners, and on the wharves, and in other places where his business called him") are all real personages in their way, with an individuality and an amusing or teaching power which places them in the same rank with the very best known and appreciated characters in English fiction.

The weird scene in the eighteenth chapter, entitled "Governor Pyncheon," both in its conception and in the power of execution displayed, is certainly the most masterly production of its kind in literature; and the sympathetic reader is ready, at its conclusion, to say with the imaginary spectator, "Yonder leaden judge sits immovably upon our soul. Will he never stir again? We shall go mad unless he stirs. Thank heaven the night is well-nigh passed." As a relief from the otherwise unbearable bleakness of the story, Hawthorne has given us Phœbe, who brings all necessary sunshine and warmth into the picture. She is a most delightful creation. A cheerful, affectionate, blooming, practical New England girl, with a "faculty" which would satisfy even Mrs. Stowe's exacting Miss Ophelia, and yet a beauty, innocence, and unselfishness which make every reader love her and long to know more of her sweet life. Hawthorne has a quiet humor which peeps out now and then from all his writings, but in the *Seven Gables* it escapes from the control of his tyrannical intelligence more frequently and completely than elsewhere. The philosophy of Uncle Venner, and the description of the Pyncheon poultry, as "a sort of parody on his own doctrine of the hereditary transmission of family qualities," are unexcelled for quaintness and subtilty of flavor by any thing in Dickens, or any other of the great humorists.

The House of the Seven Gables was warmly welcomed, both in America and England, as in no essential particular falling below the high grade Hawthorne had reached in *The Scarlet Letter*. From every quarter praise poured in upon him, and,

no longer permitted to enjoy the distinction of being "the obscurest man of letters in America;" he was fast becoming the best known of all his scribbling countrymen.

After the publication of the *Seven Gables*, Hawthorne conferred a lasting benefit upon all English reading children by writing a couple of charming volumes, entitled respectively, *The Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales*, in which he adapted the old Greek myths and the wonders of the antique mythology to the comprehension of children, by removing all impurities and by an infusion of details which increased their attractiveness, and, at the same time, explained their meaning. As a writer for children he rivaled even Hans Christian Andersen in his rare power to attract and instruct them.

In the winter of 1852 Hawthorne wrote his third extended novel, *The Blithedale Romance*, in which he makes use of Brook Farm as a background to his story, but makes no attempt to give any particular account of the manners or somewhat remarkable inmates of that notable establishment. This is the lightest, and perhaps the brightest, of his three American novels, and is full of the deep and delicate touches so characteristic of his genius.

In 1852 Hawthorne purchased a house and twenty acres of ground in Concord of Mr. Alcott, which he named "The Wayside," and which continued to be his home, with the exception of the years spent in Europe, until the end of his life. This modest place was fitted quite to his taste by the expenditure of a small amount upon the building, and he seemed to derive great satisfaction in being the possessor of an agreeable spot in which to indulge his fancies and do his work after occupying so many provisional abodes. Among the trees, upon the brow of a hill just back of the house, was his favorite seat and walk, where he spent much time alone. The Wayside is now very familiar to tourists, and remains to this day essentially as it was when he left it.

This same year Hawthorne wrote a biographical sketch of his old friend and college-mate, General Franklin Pierce. For this important service President Pierce, in 1853, appointed him American Consul at Liverpool, to which place he at once removed with his family. This appointment was not only a proper recognition of the claims of American literature in the

person of an old friend, but it was of great financial importance to Hawthorne. It enabled him eventually to carry out many cherished plans, although for the time being the duties of the office absorbed all his attention and put an end to all careful composition. In 1857 he resigned his consulate, and by way of gratifying a life-long desire to see something of the world made an extended tour through Europe, devoting the most of the time, however, for a few years, to Rome and Florence. In 1859 he returned to England, where he completed *The Marble Faun*, which had been gradually assuming permanent form in his mind during his stay in Rome, and many chapters of which had already found place in his note-books.

In the preface to *The Marble Faun* he says: "I have lived too long abroad not to be aware that a foreigner seldom acquires that knowledge of a country, at once flexible and profound, which may justify him in attempting to idealize its traits;" so, "making use of Italian scenery and atmosphere just so far as was essential to the development of his idea and consistent with the extent of his Italian knowledge," he built up his romance, so far as its real strength is concerned, upon American characters and principles. Aside from its interest as a romance, this book is now an indispensable part of the outfit of every Anglo-Saxon visitor to Rome, as a help to a perfect understanding of many parts of the Eternal City and its surroundings. In this book Hawthorne deals with actualities more than in any of his previous writings, and describes the streets, and noted buildings, and localities, and works of art in Rome with a graceful definiteness which forms no part of his reference to other cities. So far as the characters and the plot are concerned, the story begins and ends in mystery. Our curiosity is aroused, and kept on the alert, only to involve us in a hopeless labyrinth of guesses at the last; a fact which not only disappoints the reader, but most certainly weakens the moral force of the story. Some pages of *The Marble Faun* are, unquestionably, the finest Hawthorne ever wrote; but his most critical readers have always placed it second to *The Scarlet Letter* in nearly all the qualities of a great novel. It may, however, be said of this, as of all Hawthorne's better productions, that only the most careful and sympathetic reader will grasp its profounder passages, will ever feel the stimulus of its

richest wisdom and most searching moral truths. For ordinary novel readers it has little charm.

In the summer of 1860 Hawthorne returned to America, and took up his abode in The Wayside, where he spent the remaining four years of his life. When the civil war broke out his health was none of the best, and so great was his patriotic anxiety, and so little hope had he of a result favorable to his beloved country, that he was plunged at once into a state of dejection from which he was never fully aroused. He contributed occasional articles, during 1861 and 1862, for the *Atlantic Monthly*, and in 1863 published *Our Old Home*, a volume of English sketches elaborated from his note-books, and very valuable as descriptive of English scenery, and the ripe results of his observations in the mother country.

In the introduction he relapses into his old habit of autobiography, and gives us a charming account of his consular experiences, and his life in general in smoky, dingy Liverpool. As Hawthorne himself said, *Our Old Home* is not a weighty book. Its descriptions of English scenery and famous localities are characterized by the fineness of touch and delicacy of feeling peculiar to him; but when he speaks of the national mind and manners there is all the unsoundness of judgment and one-sidedness of opinion which we might expect from one who mingled so seldom in, and knew so little about, English society. There are unmistakable evidences, here and there throughout the book, of a desire to "get even" with those English travelers who, as he says in his preface, "never spared America for courtesy's sake or kindness." He found the English very thin-skinned, and his book gave them but limited satisfaction. And yet it is, after all, a charming book, almost perfect in its execution, and, in the main, most commendable in its spirit.

Early in 1864 Hawthorne's declining health and increasing despondency became a matter of deep anxiety to his family and friends. A trip southward with Mr. William Ticknor failed to benefit him, and, indeed, was a real injury, on account of the severe strain to his nervous system consequent on the sudden death of Mr. Ticknor in Philadelphia. In May he started for a tour in New Hampshire and Maine, with Ex-President Pierce, in the hope that change of scene would

arouse his flagging energies; but on the 19th of that month news came to his family that Hawthorne had died suddenly at Plymouth, N. H. General Pierce had visited his room in the early part of the night, and found him peacefully sleeping; on returning in the morning his friend was still quietly resting, but it was in the embrace of death. James T. Fields writes:

On the 24th of May we carried Hawthorne through the blossoming orchards of Concord, and laid him down under a group of pines, on a hillside, overlooking historic fields. All the way from the village church to the grave the birds kept up a perpetual melody. The sun shone brightly, and the air was sweet and pleasant, as if death had never entered the world. Longfellow and Emerson, Agassiz and Lowell, Green and Whipple, Alcott and Clarke, Holmes and Hillard, and other old friends walked slowly by his side that beautiful spring morning, and scattered flowers into his grave. The unfinished romance, which had cost him so much anxiety, the last literary work on which he had ever been engaged, was laid on his coffin.

"Ah! who shall lift that wand of magic power,
And the lost clew regain?
The unfinished window in Aladdin's tower
Unfinished must remain!"

Thus passed away the most beautiful, natural, and original genius that has yet honored the literature of our country. His life was pure, simple, and typical of his unique and exquisite work.

Those who knew Hawthorne in his youth tell us that in personal appearance he was the most attractive young man of his day. The writer caught a glimpse of Hawthorne at several different times during the spring of 1861, and unhesitatingly set him down as the handsomest man, in form and features, that he had ever seen. The remarkable softness of his complexion, his large gray-blue eyes, whitening hair, and thick dark mustache gave him a singularly interesting appearance. His face was strong in every line, and indicative of great firmness and self-reliance, and yet there was a winning gentleness in every expression that made it

"The face that a child would climb to kiss,
True and tender, brave and just,
That man might honor and woman trust."

We have ample evidence that great as was Hawthorne's genius it was fairly surpassed by his character, the most marked

traits of which were stern probity and truthfulness, which believers in hereditary influence have not been slow in tracing back to his Puritan ancestry. His few intimate friends bear unbroken testimony to the symmetry and beauty of his moral character.

As I have already intimated, our more recent and exact knowledge of Hawthorne has corrected some errors into which we had fallen as to some of his intellectual and social habits. Instead of being gloomy and morbid, as so often represented, he was really one of the most cheerful of men. His English friend Bright wrote of him:

> He was almost the *best* man I ever knew, and quite the most interesting. Nothing annoys me more than the word "morbid" as applied to him; he was the *least* morbid of men, with a singularly sweet temper and a very far-reaching charity. He was reserved, and (in a sense) a *proud* man, who did not care to be worried by people he was not fond of. But he was, I am sure, a singularly happy man.

To be sure, he nourished, as a writer, grave thoughts and solemn fancies, but in this he was but searching out and recording what is common to human nature, and not, as many have supposed, laying bare to the public gaze his own personal peculiarities. Of the people who thought he but put himself on paper, he often said: "I sympathize with them, not they with me." George Hillard once wrote to him:

> You are, intellectually speaking, quite a puzzle to me. How comes it that, with so thoroughly healthy an organization as you have, you have such a taste for the morbid anatomy of the human heart, and such a knowledge of it, too? I should fancy, from your books, that you are burdened with some secret sorrow, that you had some blue chamber in your soul into which you hardly dared to enter yourself; but when I see you, you give me the impression of a man as healthy as Adam in Paradise.

Mrs. Hawthorne wrote of him:

> He had the inevitable pensiveness and gravity of a person who possessed what a friend has called his "awful power of insight;" but his mood was always cheerful and equal, and his mind peculiarly healthful, and the airy splendor of his wit and humor was the light of his home.

This modified cheerfulness was the very thing that fitted him for his peculiar work, for it was the basis of a mental truthfulness and a moral purity which not only enabled him to

handle unhurt, but effectively, so far as his good influence over others was concerned, the very worst sins of life and character, but it also fitted him to be what James Freeman Clarke pronounced him at his funeral, "the true friend of sinners," and, in the best sense, to give a practical illustration of his written precept that "a man must not disclaim his brotherhood, even with the guiltiest." It was a common thing for people in trouble or beset with moral difficulties, and even criminals, to write him for counsel, as to one who had impressed them as pure himself but pitiful toward the sinning and sorrowful, and in some way possessed of "the healing touch that could make them well."

Of Hawthorne's well-known shyness it is not necessary here to speak, except it be to say that it does not seem to have been either unamiable or invidious. It was, no doubt, natural to him, but was greatly increased by his mental habits, and it steadily grew upon him to the end of his life. Sometimes, however, he was tempted out of his wonted seclusion, and, though always dignified, would do his full part toward making a literary gathering or social dinner enjoyable and profitable. Mr. Fields declares that, when in the mood for it, and skillfully drawn out by his host, he was the best after-dinner speaker to whom he ever listened.

Hawthorne's books are the legitimate outcome of his life; a life passed, not in the dust and noise of cities and in constant contact with mankind, but in closest intimacy with the influences of nature and deepest communion with his own soul. He thought much and wrote much, but he gave us only the quintessence of every thing. There is so much reserve about him, such a habit of "seeing nature and men only with the eyes of the mind;" so much depends, in the effect he desires to produce, upon his power to reproduce his own sensations in the minds of his readers; and, at last, his genius is so delicate, so spiritual in its manifestations, that he needs a reader in full sympathy with him in order to be fully understood. The most marked characteristics of his writings are the simplicity, purity, and beauty of his style, which must hereafter stand before either Addison's or Irving's as the most perfect model of the best English prose. In his descriptions of objects, in his reflections, in his imaginative passages, in his analysis of human passions

and motives, and even when he enters and explores the regions of mystery, there is always a crystal-like clearness, a definiteness of conception, a completeness of statement—neither scantiness nor redundancy—a symmetry and an indescribable grace, which make him the peer in the art of expression of any writer that has ever lived. W. H. Channing once asked Hawthorne where and how he got his style, and he replied: "It is the result of a great deal of practice and a desire to tell the simple truth as honestly and vividly as one can."

There is very little to be gained even by the most careful study of the localities in which Hawthorne's characters live and move, since he invariably modified the surroundings to reflect or suit his characters. He worked from within outward. His explorations were far beneath the surface of things; and yet, so far as their true spirit is concerned, they are intensely and vividly local. Had there been no New England there could have been no Hawthorne. He touched very lightly the social idiosyncrasies of his countrymen; he did not seek to blend the historian with the novelist, and none of his characters are portraits of his friends or neighbors; nevertheless his books are brimful of the true spirit of the social system in which he lived. Hence a considerable knowledge of New England life, traditions, and even climate is necessary to enable one to detect the most delicate, and therefore most gratifying, flavor of his pages.

Hawthorne was gifted with a true spiritual insight, and had the power of divining men's thoughts and motives beyond any English writer of his day. Channing said there was "no more keeping a secret from him than from an angel; for the man read you like a book." Although entirely free from cant, or any thing like professional morality, he was a most severe moralist, and the unquestionable tendency of all his writings is to make men wiser and better; and this, as Alcott said, "is his chiefest merit, without which his many beautiful intellectual qualities would have been as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals." His forefathers had crossed the Atlantic for conscience' sake, and in his own soul conscience still reigned supreme.

Ross C. Houghton.

Art. VII.—THE PRESIDING ELDERSHIP.

Our "standards of doctrine" are like the laws of the Medes and Persians, but our ecclesiastical methods must be changeable. It is only fair to believe that for a hundred years Methodists have sought to find the very best methods possible for leading the people to Christ, and for building up a strong and permanent Church. That the best and wisest of men have radically differed as to the manner of accomplishing this is not strange, for even Paul and Barnabas could not agree about their colleague on their big circuit.

Probably no question in Methodist economy has been more thoroughly discussed than that of the presiding eldership, and this is not to be wondered at, for no office in our Church is of more importance. This discussion has at times been somewhat heated, and has created some friction; but now this spirit has passed away, and the question can be discussed without causing disturbance. One thing, at least, seems to have been settled; and that is that the bishops have, by their wise administration, removed many of the causes that formerly gave rise to discussion which made the presiding eldership unpopular, and to some extent inefficient. It took much writing, much talking, and some tolerably sharp criticism, to convince the older bishops that the presiding eldership required vigorous men—vigorous in body as well as in mind—to do the work belonging to that office. In the not-far-away past men were continued on districts for many years, and long after they were physically able to meet the demands the office properly made upon them. And the improved administration is also shown in the refusal of nearly all of the bishops to appoint any one to the charge of a district who uses tobacco.

In this paper we wish to consider, in a direct and plain way, several questions that ought to be of general interest to the readers of the *Review*, who are all deeply interested in whatever tends to make the machinery of the Church work smoothly and successfully. Hence the arrangement of the districts, the methods of selecting presiding elders, their tenure of office, the character and amount of work required of them, and the best methods of apportioning and raising their salaries will be

briefly considered from a stand-point gained by long study, close observation, and practical experience.

Number of Charges in a District—There need but little be said as to the number of charges in each district, and there seems now to be a general willingness, both among the bishops and Conferences, to arrange this matter according to the needs of each Conference. It is clear that the plan adopted in the large cities will not work well in the rural districts, and it is also clear that, as a rule, there ought to be either twelve or twenty-four, forty-eight or sixty appointments in a district. If only twelve, as formed, the presiding elder can give at least two whole days each quarter to each charge, and a good many old-time Methodists insist on that number. If the elder has twenty-four appointments he can give each two whole days every six months, or, by extra work, he may manage to give each one of them some service on week day or Sunday every quarter. If he has sixty appointments—well, he must do the best he can! But there should be always a multiple of twelve for sake of convenience.

Selecting the Presiding Elder—For nearly a hundred years the mode of selecting and appointing the sub-bishop has been under warm discussion, and much ink has been shed, much paper wasted, and occasionally some bad blood stirred up. Having once fully discussed this point in the *Quarterly Review*, we wish to say that further light and four years' experience in the cabinet have somewhat modified the views then expressed. That paper advocated an elective presiding eldership, but now the views expressed by Dr. J. T. Crane in his *Methodism and its Methods* seem to have in them both weight and wisdom. He says:

> Let the Conferences by ballot, and without debate, nominate two candidates for each vacancy, and the bishop appoint one of them; or, if need be, require that the voter shall place on his ballot one name only for each vacancy, the two candidates receiving the higher number of votes being the nominees, provided the number received by either of them be not less than two fifths of the whole number of votes cast.

This is not an election, nor does it bind the bishop to appoint the ones nominated, but it *does* give him a fair and candid expression of the judgment and wishes of the entire

Conference. It is wonderful beyond belief what kind of men are sometimes nominated and urged in the cabinet for the presiding eldership. In some cases, nearly every presiding elder has a man in his district who is presented as a proper person to assume the great responsibilities of that office, and to do the immense amount of work required. Of course, the nomination in some cases is merely formal, in order to make good a pledge, or to please some brother whose aspirations lie in that direction. And, sometimes, after careful discussion in the cabinet for a week, a man is selected who would not have been thought of by the Conference, and whose appointment ought never to have been made. A bishop may err by appointing the wrong man to the wrong charge, but he makes a fatal blunder when he selects the wrong man for a district. The pastor is local, and any charge can live a year without a pastor, or with a poor one; but the man who has from twenty to sixty charges to supervise *must* be the right man. We may here say, with due deference to our honored bishops, that a sub-bishop does more hard work for less pay than a bishop, and his perplexities, burdens, and anxieties exceed those of any general superintendent. When the bishop reads out the appointments he goes out of the bounds of the Conference as soon as possible, and thus, by "running away," he "lives to fight another day." But the presiding elder goes home to meet the results of the appointments, and for a year, or years, has to settle his accounts with the preachers and the people, since he remains in constant contact with the complaints, demands, and unpleasant features of the district.

The Length of the Term—The Discipline fixes the length of a presiding elder's term on one district at four years, and the *lex non scripta* relegates him to the pastorate at the end of his term. For several good and sufficient reasons this rule is wise, and yet there are many who hold that the term ought to be lengthened to six years. Some of the reasons assigned for this change have a good deal of weight. If a presiding elder is adapted to the work, and is efficient and successful, he can in six years perfect his plans and finish what he has laid out to do. He can become so thoroughly acquainted with the plans and the men that he can arrange the work and appoint the preachers to the best advantage. Six years would allow him

to make two changes in every charge, and his superintendency would cover more men, and give him more experience, more wisdom and more influence. If it be said that this argument would apply to the lengthening of the pastoral term, it is not granted, for the cases are not parallel. The chief objection to this change in the law lies in the hurt that the presiding elder himself receives. While it may be best for the work it is not best for the man. We think it was Bishop Janes who once said, that a preacher began to lose his pulpit power when he began to be a presiding elder. The fact is, that the duties of the office are so varied and so exacting, and call the incumbent so much of the time out of his study, that he cannot give as much attention to his pulpit preparation as when he was a pastor. And the character of his work requires a peculiar kind of preaching, and the sermon most needed at one point to-day is the very one most needed at another point to-morrow. So, *ex necessitate*, his range of topics is circumscribed. In addition to this, the presiding elder is removed from personal pastoral relations, so that he loses his habits of pastoral visiting, and his skill in managing the social meetings of a charge. There can scarcely be a doubt that any pastor loses to quite a degree his pastoral efficiency by a term in the presiding eldership. Just how much he may be able to regain by subsequent pastoral experience is an open question. But while he may lose in pulpit power and pastoral efficiency, he gains breadth, experience, and wisdom that will in some part compensate him for his loss and will greatly aid him afterward as a pastor, especially as a judge of men and an administrator of the Discipline. The tendency of the public mind toward one term of office, and that a longer one, is seen in the evident drift toward giving one six years' term to the office of President of the United States. I believe that in the near future the Church will try this plan for her sub-bishops.

The Presiding Elder's Work.—As intimated above, the character of the presiding elder's work depends largely upon the section of the country he is in. In the East he is chiefly an administrative officer, doing most of his work in the Quarterly Conferences, preaching when and where it may seem to be specially necessary. But outside of a few cities west of the New York line the presiding elder has much traveling and

much preaching to do in addition to holding the Quarterly Conferences. The people demand that the sub-bishop shall preach to them, as they have to support him and as but few of them see him in the Quarterly Conferences. This demand, if met—and it ought to be when possible—makes the labors pertaining to this office very arduous. A pastor preaches twice each Sabbath, attends the Sabbath-school, possibly attends or leads class, and conducts the week-night prayer-meeting. But many presiding elders preach on Friday night, twice on Saturday, and twice on Sunday. In addition to this they often hold a Quarterly Conference on Saturday, another on Monday, and lead the love-feast, and probably administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper twice on the Sabbath, and possibly baptize some children. We have hardly ever known a presiding elder to violate the Sabbath by holding a Quarterly Conference on that day, as that would be contrary to the entire spirit of the Discipline and Bible. Such labors as above alluded to, kept up for fifty-one weeks, varied only by from 5,000 to 10,000 miles travel, if the district be large and the charges not close together, will tax the energies and vitality of the strongest man. The question is often mooted as to whether a presiding elder is required, strictly, to do more than to hold the Quarterly Conferences and supervise the district, as nothing is said in the Discipline about his preaching. But a presiding elder who does not preach or attend the love-feast and administer the sacraments will soon find that the people do not so understand the nature of his obligations. By the provisions of the Discipline the elder is required "to be present, as far as practicable, at all the quarterly meetings (not Conferences), especially the first and fourth," and the people in most Conferences require one or more sermons from him at each quarterly meeting. In the districts where the presiding elder holds every Quarterly Conference at the first quarterly meeting, the most of the pastors will not have their salaries fixed for several weeks after the Annual Conference, and this often causes uncertainty and trouble. Some of us have found it to be an excellent plan to hold the Quarterly Conferences that would fall later than a month after the Annual Conference at the rate of two or three a day, where they could be reached, and having fixed the salaries, collected the moving expenses, and raised something for

immediate necessities, adjourned the Conference until the time of the quarterly meeting, possibly two months later. In this way the pastor knows what to expect, the stewards know what they have to raise, and the pastor receives some money to use in preparing for winter. It is clearly the work of a presiding elder to look carefully after the financial interests of the preachers on his district, and when any district shows deficiencies in their salaries, the presiding elder, as a rule, has failed in his work, though there may be occasional exceptions.

In this connection it may be proper to refer to the work of the presiding elder in the cabinet, as here he does the most difficult and important duty pertaining to his office. Wisdom in selecting the right man for the right place, and skill in getting the men he wants for his district, are very much needed, for, "*hic labor, hoc opus est.*" An old presiding elder once said that so long as a certain sub-bishop (an admirable preacher) had charge of a district it would be full of "wet logs;" that is, of inefficients and incompetents. The elder who can best man his district is, other things being equal, the most successful, for the week of cabinet work tells for weal or woe as no other week can. To sum it up, the work required of a presiding elder requires nerve, push, pluck, common sense, patience, tact, piety, and a consuming zeal for the salvation of souls and the upbuilding of the Church.

The Presiding Elder's Salary.—Our bishops receive from three to four thousand dollars each, as salary, and some of them have parsonages. In addition to this, their moving and official traveling expenses are paid, and also their expenses for special extra services. Besides this they receive something (sometimes a good deal) for lectures, dedications, and other special services. They do not receive too much for their labor and responsibility, and not as much as hundreds of men who do less work and are their inferiors in almost every respect. But, as before said, a sub-bishop does as much work as a bishop, and in many respects of a more difficult and disagreeable kind: but west of New York the average salary of the presiding elders is probably not fifteen hundred dollars. Out of this he pays his house rent, moving and traveling expenses, stationery bills, and keeps open house for comers and goers. He receives but very few presents or perquisites, and, unlike a

bishop, he has no spare Sundays for dedications or other extra and paying services. Besides all this, the bishops are sure to get their entire salary, while hardly one presiding elder in a dozen gets his salary in full. Every district ought to have a furnished district parsonage, and ought to pay the moving expenses of the elder. But a very important question is, how to apportion to the various charges the presiding elder's salary. There is a wide diversity of opinion on this point, and many are the methods adopted to save the charges from paying too much in this direction. In a recent New York *Christian Advocate*, a well-known minister gave his views at some length, and with some degree of warmth if not inconsistency. He says that in ¶ 363 of the Discipline the district stewards

are directed by the General Conference to "make an estimate of the amount necessary to furnish a comfortable support to the presiding elder, and to apportion the same, including house-rent and traveling expenses, and also the claim of the bishops apportioned to the district by the Annual Conference, among the different circuits and stations in the district, *according to their several ability*." But the Discipline fails to indicate what this standard of "ability" is to be.

That the salary of the pastor is the most equitable and disciplinary standard of this "ability" is as clear as the noonday sun. For immediately after the words just quoted follows this provision: "And in all cases the presiding elder shall share with the preachers in his district in proportion to what they have respectively received." Bishops, elder, and pastor become pastoral associates in their respective spheres, and share alike, *pro rata*, from the pastoral receipts.

That minister or layman will render the Church at large an immortal service who shall secure the incorporation into ¶ 363 of the "Discipline" the words: "And the salaries of the pastors on the district shall constitute the sole basis on which the salaries of the presiding elder and the bishops shall be distributed among the respective charges." Where can a more righteous standard be found? . . .

And yet he complains that in a certain instance the district stewards did not, in making the assessments, take the salaries of the pastors, *or the generally recognized ability of the charges*, as a basis. Here he seems to admit that the Discipline is correct as to the basis. The Discipline is perfectly right on this point, and no other basis than that of the several "abilities of the charges" would be just or proper; but as its application is left to men whose pockets are interested, the law is some-

times perverted There would be but little trouble, usually, in this matter, if each charge was represented by an efficient, sensible, and religious district steward. Too frequently, however, only a few attend, and these having matters their own way impose burdens upon others that they themselves ought to bear. There could scarcely be a worse basis of apportionment than the pastor's salary. We happen to know that this plan has been tried and has proved to be a delusion and a snare, if not worse. For instance, a weak charge asks for a strong man to build them up, and in order to get him they must strain every nerve to raise him a salary according to his worth. But they are enterprising and liberal, and agree to give him, say, fifteen hundred dollars a year. Another charge, with a larger and wealthier but stingier membership, pays its pastor only one thousand dollars. The usual per cent. in the West is about ten—that is, the elder's claim is generally one tenth, more or less, of the pastor's salary. In this case the poor but liberal charge pays one hundred and fifty dollars for the elder, while the rich and stingy one pays one hundred—thus the premium in stinginess is fifty dollars. Is this fair? But worse than this. Some charges where the presiding elder was unpopular, and where the pastor and the people had low notions of honesty and honor, have made the salary of the pastor merely nominal, so as to lower the elder's claim, and then made up the pastor's salary in donations. And, as a rule, wherever the elder's claim is to be based upon the pastor's salary, the pastor and elder will both find their salaries reduced, and both will be sufferers. The proper way to arrange the elder's claim is to elect men who will attend the district stewards' meeting—men who are honest, intelligent, and pious. Then, by vote, fix the salary at a living figure, counting all his expenses, and allow him as a sub-bishop liberally for his talents, time, labor, responsibilities and oversight. This done, then take into honest consideration the condition of each charge—its wealth, numbers, spiritual condition, church property (paid for or mortgaged), and all the local surroundings and circumstances, thus meeting the requirements of the Discipline as to the "several abilities" of the charges, and, ordinarily, the apportionment can be made speedily, fairly, and religiously. But if the pastors nominate for district stewards narrow men—contentious or stingy men, or men who are op-

posed to the officer or the office—there will be trouble, and the apportionments will be unequal and unfair, and the elder will fail to get his allowance, and some weak charges will be oppressed.

Raising the Claim.—But granting that the salary is sufficient, and the apportionments to the charges satisfactorily made, how shall the elder's claim be raised? On this point the Discipline says nothing, aside from the general directions concerning the raising of supplies for the ministry. But as in most instances these directions are not carried out, it may be well to consider specifically the elder's claim. The law of the Church is, that "in all cases the presiding elder shall share with the preachers in his district in proportion to what they have respectively received." To us that law seems both unwise and unjust, and it ought to be expunged. While it is true that whether the elder shall receive his claim or not depends almost entirely upon the pastor, it is equally true that the pastor should not pay that claim out of his own pocket, nor should he be paid what belongs to the elder, for each should receive his own dues, and each should stand upon his own merits. In some cases a pastor does his entire duty faithfully, and the people desire to pay his salary in full, while the elder either neglects the charge, or is lazy, or so offensive in personal habits or methods that really he is not entitled to his allowance. In such a case it is unjust to make the pastor share with his superior officer. On the other hand, the elder may be faithful, prompt, and efficient; always on hand and attending to every duty; while the pastor may be lazy, inefficient, and have displeasing personal habits. The people may appreciate the elder's work, and may be willing to pay him to the last dollar, while the pastor, not having earned his money, may fall short in his salary. In such a case it would be thoroughly unjust to make the elder share with the pastor. This *pro rata* method is unfair, and works hardships in many cases. And now we may be allowed to say that it is much easier for a pastor to raise the elder's claim, as a rule, than for the elder to secure for the pastor his salary. For the elder's claim is the smaller, and the pastor is constantly on the ground, and can work the matter up, while the elder is with the pastor's people probably but four times in the year, and then but briefly; and a score of

other important matters claim his time and attention at those times. And then, while the elder gets but few perquisites or donations, and usually lives in a city, where he cannot supplement his salary by cultivating a garden, the preachers have many such advantages, which aid in making a small cash salary go far in providing a comfortable support. One practical point remains to be considered, and it is of importance in many sections of the country; and that is, the best method of raising the presiding elder's allowance. A number of plans are used, and what may work well in one charge may be a failure in another. Where the pews are rented the rentals are expected to cover all current expenses, and nothing need be said about such a charge. In other wealthy and prompt-paying charges assessments are made that cover all claims, and as such charges pay all they promise, no extra collections are needed; but such charges are the exception, while the smaller and feebler stations and poorer circuits are the rule, and in them a great effort is needed to raise the amount required, and much planning is necessary. Two plans in the West have been used with more or less success. At the beginning of the year a separate subscription is taken privately, or a separate assessment made, for the elder, and the pastor collects it—or has the steward collect it—before the quarterly meeting, and the quarterly claim is met at the Quarterly Conference. The other plan is to take a public collection after the morning sermon on the quarterly-meeting Sabbath, and to hold on until the amount is raised. This plan is open to many objections. If the day is stormy the faithful few must pay the claim, if it be paid, and it calls only upon those appointments in the district where the quarterly meetings are held, which is not fair. It also seriously interferes with the sacramental services, which usually follow the Sabbath-morning sermon at the quarterly meeting. If the pastor would take a collection at each appointment before the Quarterly Conference it would be better, or if each appointment would assume and pay its proper proportion at the Quarterly Conference it would be better.

It is taken for granted in all of this writing that the elder is to do his utmost, in person and by pen, to secure the full payment of the pastor's claim, and where both pastor and elder work in harmony, and in each other's interests, both will usu-

ally receive their allowance. If a pastor takes no interest in the elder's claim it will hardly be raised. Or if he allows, without protest, his members to oppose the office or the officer, but quietly indulges their complaints, the sub-bishop will suffer correspondingly. This writer knows a pastor who has served under thirteen different presiding elders, some of whom were not very popular or efficient, and yet not one of those elders ever went to the Annual Conference without the last dollar of his claim, and in only one instance did he leave the quarterly meeting unpaid. And this record covers circuit, and small and large stations. Nor did the pastor pay the elder's claim out of his own pocket, though in a few instances he advanced it for a time, but he never lost a dollar by advancing it. And it is safe to say that the presiding elder's claim, almost invariably, can be, and is, raised where the pastor really tries to have it paid. But the *pro rata* rule is unfair to all parties where there is a deficiency. It works admirably where all claims are promptly met.

Some districts show at the Conference a shameful deficiency every year, while some pay nearly every dollar promised. Just how far a presiding elder is to blame for this state of affairs need not be said, but it may be stated that the fault is not altogether with the people. Possibly the preachers and the elders are largely to blame for this ruinous condition of things, for under some elders and some pastors there are rarely any deficiencies. When a people can be led to see and feel their obligations to God and the Church on financial matters they usually respond liberally.

The righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees included commercial honesty; the payment of debts and tithes. Our righteousness is to equal theirs in this respect, and to exceed theirs in spirituality. We need business in religion and religion in business; and then may we confidently expect the days spoken of by the prophet Joel, for then God will pour upon his churches that wonderful baptism that came upon them at Jerusalem, when fear came upon every soul, and when multitudes of both men and women were added to the Lord.

W. R. Goodwin.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE CRESCENT IN AFRICA—AFRICA IN AMERICA.*

MOHAMMEDANISM has until quite recently been regarded by perhaps the majority of Christians as an effete and non-aggressive religion. And to-day, despite all that has been written to the contrary, comparatively few are fully aware of its intense vitality and of the vigor of its propagandism. Seventeen years ago, in this *Review*, Dr. Blyden quoted with approval the conclusion reached by several learned investigators, that "Mohammedanism is a thing of vitality fraught with a thousand fruitful germs." Recent events, especially in Africa and India, have justified this opinion. Dr. Thomas P. Hughes, who during his twenty-one years of service as a missionary in British Afghanistan made the condition of Islam a special study, and who in 1876 visited Egypt specially to investigate its strength in that country, assures us, in a valuable paper to be found in the *Andover Review*, that "there were never so many Moslems in the world as there are at the present time." In Schem's statistics their number is set down as being 210,000,000; the number of Buddhists as 340,000,000; of Christians as 338,000,000. When one considers that Christianity is six centuries older than Mohammedanism, these comparative numbers become a suggestive commentary on the relative aggressive force of the two religions. If nothing more, they teach that Islamism cannot be viewed as an effete system.

Is it objected that these numbers represent not its present growth, but a past energy which is now moribund in Mohammedanism? Against this objection one finds the following facts:

1. That there are 50,000,000 Moslems in India alone, and, as Dr. Hughes affirms, "it is a matter of fact which admits of no contradiction that while Christian converts from Islam can only be counted by hundreds, proselytes from Hinduism to Islam can be reckoned by thousands if not millions."

2. That Islamism is now spreading rapidly in the island of Java and in parts of China.

3. That Islamism fifty years from the time of its beginning "swept over northern Africa like a whirlwind," and after a long, stubborn contest superseded Christianity throughout the region lying between the Mediterranean and the Soudan. After its first conquests by the sword it

* *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race.* By Edward W. Blyden, LL.D., late Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Liberia at the Court of St. James. With an Introduction by the Hon. Samuel Lewis. 8vo, pp. 423. London: W. B. Whittingham & Co.

advanced southward, not by force of arms, for the brave tribes of Nigritia had never been subdued by a foreign foe, but by means of schools, books, mosques, trade, and intermarriages. Half a century ago it returned to its ancient method of employing military expeditions to compel the submission of pagan tribes to the Crescent. These movements, as Dr. Blyden shows, have been carried on with wonderful activity and success. Within the last thirty years two Negro chieftains, Omaru and Samudu, have led these crusades. The latter, with thousands of Moslem Negroes under him, has quite recently subdued large and powerful tribes which two years ago were pagans, but are now "under the influence of schools, teachers, and the regular administration of law." He has even advanced within two hundred and fifty miles east of the British colony of Sierra Leone. Hence, in the Africa of to-day, says Cardinal Lavigerie, "there are from the Soudan to the Niger and Senegal more than sixty millions of Mussulmans." And Mr. R. Bosworth Smith, a recognized authority on this question, affirms that "it is not too much to say that one half of the whole of Africa is already dominated by Islam, while of the remaining half one quarter is leavened and another threatened by it." And this astounding statement is also accepted by the learned Dr. Blyden, than whom there is no more competent living authority on Mohammedanism in Africa.*

4. That this energetic propagandism will be unrestingly continued is made certain by the fact, as stated by Dr. Hughes, that in the Mohammedan schools at Cairo there are five thousand students, of whom hundreds "burn with enthusiasm at the thought of rescuing from the fire of hell the lost souls of the heathen in Africa."

Dr. Hughes very properly remarks of these facts that they represent "an amazing, a portentous problem which Christianity and civilization have to face in Africa, and to which neither of them seems as yet half awake." The portent of this problem appears still more gloomy when it is studied in connection with the comparatively insignificant results hitherto achieved by Christian missions in that "dark continent." Not that there has been no fruitage of individual conversions there, for it is undeniable that the unexcelled self-sacrifices of missionaries of all evangelical denominations in Africa have been productive of many thousand converts whose faith has begotten rich spiritual experiences and exemplary morality. Nevertheless, the startling fact confronts the Christian thinker that while half of Africa, including not its lowest types of intellectual character but "its

*Dr. Blyden is the author of the remarkable book named above. He is a Negro, born in the West Indies, and educated in Liberia. Mr. R. Bosworth Smith says of him, that "he is an accomplished linguist, equally familiar with Hebrew and Arabic, with Greek and Latin, with five European, and with several African languages. He is a great traveler. He has studied the Negro wherever he is to be found. . . . If ever any one spoke upon his special subject with a right to be heard upon it, it is Mr. Blyden. . . . I regard him as one of the most remarkable men, . . . and his book, taking into consideration all the circumstances, as one of the most remarkable books I have ever met."

most energetic and enterprising tribes," is obedient to the faith of Mohammed, "not one single tribe, *as a tribe*," says Dr. Blyden, "has yet become Christian," although "west Africa has been in contact with Christianity for three hundred years. Nor has any *influential* chief adopted the religion brought by the European missionary. . . . There is not a single spot along the whole coast—except perhaps the little island of Corisco* —where Christianity has taken any hold among large numbers of the indigenous tribes."

To relieve the darkness of this somber picture, the writers quoted above seem to concur with Dr. Hughes in thinking that the ascendency of Islam in Africa must be for the advantage of Christian missionaries in the future, because by it "these hordes of savages are taught to reverence and worship one God." In the same hopeful spirit the Secretary of the American Board, Dr. N. G. Clark, has said that "as a civilizing power Mohammedanism is exerting a very beneficial influence over the wild tribes of Africa." Dr. Blyden also observes, "We entertain the deliberate conviction, gathered not from reading at home but from travels among the people, that, whatever it may be in other lands, in Africa the work of Islam is preliminary and preparatory. . . . We may express the belief of Möhler, that, one day the true laborers may find in Africa a harvest ready for their reaping, and the Gospel speed on its way rejoicing, and Mohammed prove a servant of Christ!" And Dr. H. H. Jessup, of the American Board, also expresses his hope that the monotheism of Islam may be God's instrument to prepare it for Christ.

One cannot well refuse to respect the honest convictions of gentlemen so well informed as Drs. Blyden, Hughes, and Smith most unquestionably are. Neither can one help wishing that their belief, so strongly expressed, may prove to be well founded. Nevertheless, one cannot suppress a desire to learn why Mohammedanism is expected to accomplish in Nigritia and in Southern Africa what it has failed to achieve in other countries. It may be conceded, as claimed, that it has taught one half of the pagan tribes in Africa to abandon cannibalism, human sacrifices, and fetish worship; to profess faith in the Koran, with its monotheism, its doctrines of a future life, a resurrection, a final judgment, and of human responsibility. It has replaced the wizard and his weird incantations by the mufti and his mosque, his school, and his five daily calls to prayer. It has taught that almsgiving, fasting, prayer, and pilgrimage are the four duties obligatory on every convert to Islam. As a result millions of once naked savages now wear decent clothing, have formed habits of personal cleanliness, and have adapted better methods of civil government than were possible under their old pagan ideas and habits. All this, it must be confessed, indicates that it has led them a considerable distance in the direction of higher civilization. But are they therefore better prepared to listen to Christian teachers than they were when living in pagan blindness?

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*Mr. R. Bosworth Smith also excepts "one or two isolated spots, such as Abbeokuta and Kuruman" from this sweeping, but too true, statement.

The students of this great problem cited above confidently reply that they are. Yet one cannot surrender one's judgment to their conclusions without serious misgivings. Though earnestly wishing and trying to hope they are right, yet one cannot help asking why, during the past twelve hundred years, and especially during its last century of missionary zeal, Christianity has not found Islamism in any nation to be a preparation for the reception of the Gospel? Is Africa more likely to be led to Christ by Mohammed's hand than Persia, India, or Turkey? If so, how is it that, in Northern Africa, Morocco, Algiers, and Egypt are as indisposed to consider the claims of Christianity as Turkey or Arabia? What is there in the Soudan tribes that should make Islamism among them more favorable to the Gospel than it is wherever else it is in the ascendent? It is doubtless true, as Dr. Blyden says, that the hold of Islam on these tribes is not as yet very deep. Probably it is at present little more than a nominal creed with them. Its beliefs, being but dimly comprehended concepts, have not yet become moral convictions. Nevertheless, the fact of its having led them to abandon so many of their ancient superstitious habits is proof that its grasp upon them is already the grip of a giant. Something in it has had power to move them strongly. What is it? Is it the potency of the great truths which, mingled with pestilential errors, the Koran teaches? Partly, perhaps; for truth, though allied with error, will measurably assert its power even though it be "held in unrighteousness," and thereby prevented from working out its legitimate spiritual and ethical results. Is not the secret of Islam's strength and Islam's failure, both in Africa and elsewhere, to be found in this—that it holds much truth in much unrighteousness? Its truths appeal to man's higher nature, but are spiritually and ethically ineffective because of the errors with which they are blended. It justifies polygamy, slavery, religious war, and a spirit of caste which moves its disciples to look with inexpressible contempt upon unbelievers in its creed. Thus a man may be a good Moslem, sure of paradise in the hereafter, while utterly dead to spiritual aspirations, and indulging his corrupt passions with very slight restraint. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many Africans have embraced it. It has asked no sacrifice of their selfism, but it has presented them an attraction in the fact that by becoming Moslems they escape the peril of being enslaved; for the great Mohammedan men-stealers, who enslave African pagans without scruple, never reduce a brother Moslem to slavery.

These facts explain, at least in part, the success of Mohammedanism in Africa. But they assuredly do not beget confidence that the diffusion of this cunningly contrived creed can prepare the tribes of the "dark continent" to listen to the voice of the Christian missionary teaching a faith that requires the renunciation of that selfism which Islam permits its disciples to indulge with so little restraint.*

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* In his *Apologetics*, the learned Dr. Ebrard says, that "nothing can be more perverse than the assertion that Islam can become a bridge over to Christianity for the Negro races." He calls it "a mongrel product of mantic fanaticism and cun-

At present, Dr. Blyden assures us, Islam in Africa is tolerant toward Christianity. But will Islam permit the proselytism of its Negro converts? To do so it must become a leopard changing its spots. Regarding itself as the last of divine revelations, and as abrogating Christianity, it is its law that "the *Murtadd*, or proselyte from the ranks of Islam, must suffer capital punishment." In conformity with this law the sultan of Turkey, as late as 1875, informed the British representative in Constantinople that "the right of making proselytes from the religion of the State neither had been, nor was intended to be, given by the Turkish government."* Seeing, therefore, that Islam is governed by one law—the Koran—in all nations, is it not likely, if not certain, that the African Moslems, as they become confirmed in their faith by further instruction, will stand in such decided opposition to proselytism by Christian missionaries as will make it more difficult to Christianize them than it would have been to win them from their abandoned pagan superstitions?

For these reasons one fails to perceive that Islam in Africa is to be a John the Baptist to the Christian missionary. Yet Dr. Blyden's valuable book does make it transparently clear that it is high time for Protestant Christianity to enter with self-sacrificing vigor on the task of winning Africa to Christ. If one half of her tribes have become followers of the Crescent, they, with her remaining pagan tribes, should be speedily shown the superior glories of the Cross. The Koran speaks not with contempt of either the Bible or the Christ, but reverently of both.† This gives the missionary his point of access to the Moslem's good-will, enabling him to contrast the moral majesty, the beautiful tenderness, the life-inspiring truths, and the

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ning calculation, which removes from its idea of God the attribute of holiness, and from its idea of Christianity its central point, redemption. Under the varnish of an outward appearance of civilization it has made the culture of the mind impossible." He cites Rholf as showing that it has changed "well disposed and peaceable Negro tribes into crafty fanatics." And he ascribes the literary culture of the times of the caliphs to the old Persian civilization, which Islam could not preserve but only kill out. It emancipates the flesh, degrades the wife, destroys family life, and changes the State into a despotism.

* Dr. Arthur T. Pierson, in his *Crisis of Missions*, observes that "the law of the Koran punishes apostasy with death; but treaty obligations practically annul the Koran, and, since the case of Selim Effendi, in 1857, the government officials (in Turkey) have in numerous cases been compelled to decide that converts to Christianity were not, according to the "treaty of Paris, in 1856," to be molested. But whether the influence of European governments will be able to make itself thus felt among the Moslems of interior Africa or not is far from being certain.

† In the *Indian Evangelical Review* for January last there is a paper by the Rev. Dr. E. M. Wherry, in which he proves "by the testimony of the Koran that Mohammed recognized the existence of genuine and uncorrupted copies of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in his day, and that, in consequence, Mohammedans are bound by the authority of their own prophet to accept the Christian Scriptures as genuine and uncorrupted. . . . They are in like manner bound to accept these Scriptures as for them the divine rule of faith and practice, notwith-

pitiful love of Jesus with the character and teachings of Mohammed as the latter are represented in his Koran. And since the missionary is no longer compelled, by the force of unbending circumstances, to labor chiefly among the inferior tribes which have their *habitat* along her sickly western coast, but can safely penetrate the vast interior, with its better climate, he can reach those higher types of humanity which inhabit the center of that vast continent. But Dr. Blyden and most other well informed travelers and writers are as one in affirming that the white man cannot live long and work with effect in tropical Africa. What then? Must the millions of that much-injured country be left as a prey to the Crescent? Nay, nay; that must not be. It belongs not to Mohammed but to Christ, who has redeemed it with his blood. He commands and expects his Church to achieve its conquest for him. How can this be done?

Dr. Blyden's response to this inquiry is given in the words of our late lamented and beloved Bishop Gilbert Haven, who is credited with saying, "Africa in America" must redeem Africa. In other words, the Christian Negroes of America must undertake the mighty task of winning their ancestral home to the cross of Jesus. He argues this point chiefly on two grounds: 1. The Negro, because of the existing and apparently incurable race repulsion, can never gain recognition in America as the white man's equal. His relation to his white brother must always be that of an inferior, and therefore his development and his self-respect require that he should emigrate to the home of his ancestors. 2. The Negro can live, work, and enjoy good health in Africa, where he will be recognized as an equal, and be free from the depressing influence of the white man's assumption of superiority, and can develop a powerful Negro nationality. Moreover, by being able to approach the native African in the spirit of equality and real brotherhood, as the Negro teachers of Islam now do, he is more likely to win him to faith in the Gospel than a white missionary, who is very rarely, if ever, able to feel other than as a man belonging to a superior race, and cannot therefore say to him, without mental reservation, "We are brothers."

For these reasons Dr. Blyden seeks to beget such an enthusiastic passion in the Christian Negroes of American birth for the people of their ancestral home as will move them to emigrate by thousands, and to teach both Mohammedans and pagans, by their example and precept, the truth as it is in Jesus. As the Jews left the land of their birth and bondage, and sought the country given by God to Abraham, their great ancestor, so he would have these Negroes quit the scenes of their centuries of wrong and suffering, and return to the land from which their fathers were violently

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standing their doctrine of abrogation. . . . It will plainly follow that the Koran must be rejected on the ground of its own teaching."

In support of his main statement Dr. Wherry cites the following from the Mohammedan creed: "I believe in God, in the angels, *in the Books*" [the books and the prophets are the Christian Scriptures], "in the prophets, in the day of judgment, and in the decrees of God."

turn. That there is an aspect of moral grandeur in this idea none will dispute. Will it inspire "Africa in America" sufficiently to lead it to enter upon such a great and holy crusade?

The decision of our Negro brethren will turn, perhaps, on their acceptance or rejection of Dr. Blyden's basic theory that they never can overcome that racial repulsion which dooms them to a relation of inferiority in this land. If that repulsion is chiefly the result of their having been a servile race, time, culture, and self-development may overcome it. But if it be natural, time will modify, though it may never wholly overcome it. This question the Negro must decide for himself. His right to stay and test the problem is as unquestionable as is his right to embark in such an enterprise.

But if he resolve to go he needs to ask, Is it practicable to secure emigrants of the right type to accomplish the desired result? That idle, ignorant, unchristian Negro emigrants would only deepen the darkness of Africa is self-evident. To Christianize that much-wronged country, energetic men and women, who are genuine Christians, possessing persistent, fearless spirits and educated minds, are needed. Can enough of this class be prevailed on to join in this proposed crusade for the salvation of their ancestral home? The leaders of the African Churches in America can best answer this momentous question.

If organizations for emigration actually exist, they prove that "Africa in America" is strongly moved by a desire to find some place where its development will not be hindered by the race repulsion which is its oppressive nightmare in this land. Whence this desire arises, and whither it tends, who can tell? If it shall end in its actual emigration on a large scale, one cannot reasonably doubt that its most promising goal is, not South America, as some contend, but the vast range of fertile lands lying in the Liberian Republic, and in the rich valleys of the Congo and its affluents. Bishop Turner, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, appears to be of this opinion, for he is cited as saying "that to my certain knowledge there is a general unrest and a wholesale dissatisfaction among our people in a number of sections of the country, and they sigh for conveniences to and from the continent of Africa. . . . The remedy is thought, by tens of thousands, to be a NEGRO NATIONALITY."

If this unrest is deepening, as Bishop Turner affirms, what does it import? Is it an impulse begotten by Providence for the purpose of leading "Africa in America" back to its ancestral home, that it may carry with it the example, the energy, and the blessedness of Christian civilization? If this be its meaning, it may bless Africa by checking the present progress of Islam. And, by showing the superiority of such civilization over that promoted by the false faith of Mohammed, it may also win away its converts from the Crescent to the Cross. Thus a "Negro nationality," created by the emigration of the Christian elements of "Africa in America," may be God's plan for flooding the Dark Continent with the light of the Gospel.

Grave results are included in this problem. The emigration of Negroes

by thousands would soon very seriously affect the supply of laborers in the Southern States. The hardships inseparable from extensive colonization would severely try the courage and the endurance of the emigrants. The loosening of the ties of moral restraint which always accompanies emigration and settlement on uncultivated lands would put the faith of many to a crucial test. If successful, despite these incidental evils, the presence and influence of Christian homes and Christian villages and Christian churches in Africa would be the precursor of the triumph of Christianity among a people long afflicted and cruelly wronged. If unsuccessful it would be a sad calamity. These are questions that need to be duly pondered both by colored and white citizens in America. They are questions which appeal strongly to the sympathies and hopes of the Christian Church. She cannot well help deep sympathy with the aspirations of the American Negro; neither can she wholly refuse to hope that he may yet prove God's chosen instrument for the regeneration of a land which is a grave-yard to many white missionaries. But since the problem is not yet fully worked out her duty in the premises is not transparently clear. She assuredly ought not to throw herself in the way of this singular impulse said to be working in the Negro mind, because by doing so she may be fighting against God. But she can, and should, watch, pray, and wait its providential unfolding. The time may be near in which she may feel it her duty to give it her full sympathy, and to freely contribute her money to help transfer "Africa in America" to Africa, that, through it, Ethiopia may soon be seen "stretching out her hands unto God."

CHRISTIANITY AND THE ETHICS OF THE BUSINESS WORLD.

Has spiritual Christianity any stronger, any more dangerous, foe than "Mammon" in these modern days and in our own land? To the superficial observer the forces of skepticism which, armed with the offensive weapons of rationalistic criticism are making desperate assaults on its foundations, appear to be its deadliest adversaries. But men of deeper insight know that, though these assailants may retard its growth by strengthening the unbelief of unregenerate minds, they cannot destroy the faith "once delivered to the saints," because the truth on which that faith reposes becomes self-demonstrative in every man who cordially embraces it. To such obedient souls the false philosophies and specious reasonings of infidelity are as chaff driven by the wind. But Mammon is a subtle and deadly foe, who makes his attacks not directly on Christian truth, but on that divinely created love for God and man which is the essence of all spiritual life. As the malaria of a marshy country is more destructive to an army than the bullets of its foes, so is the self-loving spirit of the world often vastly more injurious to the life and progress of the Christian Church than all the arguments that skeptical philosophers and scientists can invent.

The "god of this world," whom Jesus personified as "Mammon," in

seeking to diffuse the poison of that selfism which is destructive of the soul's higher life, wears an aspect of plausibility, and is endowed with the dangerous gift of flattering speech. Since human selfism decreed his apotheosis, he no longer appears, as Milton saw him,

> "The least erected spirit that fell
> From heaven,"

whose "looks and thoughts were always downward bent," but as a god whom countless leaders in the marts of business worship, and whom they serve with all their hearts, minds, and strength. On his altars, selfishness offers daily sacrifices of honor, honesty, truth, fairness, and respect for the rights and interests of other men as the price of the gold which he scatters in lavish abundance among his most unscrupulous worshipers. In his unhallowed temple men are taught how to frame plausible theories in defense of gambling speculations, "corners," "trusts," "combinations," "pools," briberies, railway-wrecking, betrayals of official obligations, adulterations of food, fraudulent manufacturing, dealings in things injurious to health and public morals, and similar methods of gaining wealth by wronging other men. And having reduced these theories to practice, and reaped "filthy lucre" thereby, they move among other men, crying, in the spirit of the ancient Ephesians respecting their goddess Diana, "Great is Mammon, by whose favor we heap up much treasure!"

Did these Mammon-worshipers constitute a class in society separated from the Churches of Christ by well-defined barriers not easily crossed, their influence over the latter would not be alarmingly potent. But so great is the number of Christian business men, so intimately related are the common interests of society, so numberless the mutual services required for the development of political, family, and social life, and so dependent is the individual on the co-operation of the many, that there is, there can be, no barrier but a moral one between the servants of Mammon and the servants of Christ. They must mingle one with another. Both must live by transacting business under those established economic principles generally recognized as the laws of trade. The influence of both is therefore interpenetrative. Consequently, the selfism of Mammon worshipers must act adversely on that sense of duty which compels every spiritual man to recognize the law of love to one's neighbor as a limitation on his business actions. For, both by word and deed, the former often audaciously declares that law to be utterly inapplicable to existing modes of business. Their golden rule is to get gold, not by fair means only, but justly or unjustly, as occasion may require.

By this unavoidable continuous intermingling of innumerable Christians with the avowed servants of Mammon, the former are powerfully tempted to become partakers in transactions which, though bearing the stamp of conventional approval, are yet so essentially selfish in principle as to fall under the ban of a truly Christian conscience. In *form* they wear an aspect of innocent trade. In *fact* they are based on a total disregard of the rights and interests of other men. Take, for illustration, a coterie purchasing

large quantities of wheat or coffee, or any other commodity, for the purpose of creating what is called a "corner" in the article. Viewed as a simple act of buying this may be made to look like innocence itself. But when it is seen that the action of the coterie, if it end in success, will assuredly bankrupt certain other parties who trade in the article "cornered," its apparent innocency proves to be only a mask concealing an intentionally cruel selfism exulting in the iniquity of seeking gain by reducing a brother man from comparative affluence to probable beggary. And if the purchase is made by the aforesaid coterie on what is technically termed "buying on a margin," it further appears as an act kindred in quality to that of the gambler who risks a sum of money in expectation of getting a larger amount from his fellow gambler, for which he intends to give no equivalent. It is, in motive, purpose, and effect, an unqualifiedly selfish deed, a plain violation of that divine law of human brotherhood which says, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

It is this unhallowed selfism, incarnated in almost innumerable modes and kinds of modern business, and constantly confronting Christian men in every mart of trade, that makes Mammon the most dangerous foe of the Church of to-day. The precise point at which that innocent self-interest which stimulates man's industry must pause, or be deformed into guilty selfism, is sometimes so indistinct to one's moral perceptions that even a good man, if his conscience be not quick and healthfully scrupulous, may pass it, and find himself like one suddenly entangled in a snare. The act may be one in which the wrong it is designed to inflict is so indirect, and is to reach its victim by such circuitous ways, that one unskilled in the devices of the times may be unaware of its injurious bearing on other men's interests until subsequent reflection sheds light upon it. It may include an unjust watering of stock, or a project involving bribery, or the unfair depreciation of a coveted property, or a conspiracy to affect the price of a vendible commodity, or some other of the countless methods by which unprincipled financiers add to their riches by despoiling others. Into some such transaction a truly Christian business man may be beguiled by plausible representations which, being partial, conceal its real aim. His participation in it may therefore be innocent in its beginning. But, being in it, he is placed where the fascinations of large prospective gains soon begin to act on his love of acquisition. Before he fully discerns the wrong involved, he is under the spell of an enchanted imagination. "There are thousands in it!" his financial partners gleefully exclaim. But as the scheme matures its injurious bearings on other parties are developed. He then discovers that his promised gains must come from the, perhaps ruinous, losses of other men. He is startled. His conscience protests. His sense of justice to men and his duty to his Master bid him sever at once his connection with the affair, even though it may cause him more or less serious embarrassment. But, alas for his relationship to Christ! His anticipation of large gains has already stimulated his self interest into a passion, has narcotized his conscience,

and so depressed his spiritual life that its action is no longer strong, but like a feeble, intermittent pulse. The first costly step has been taken. He hesitates to retrace it, listens willingly to the maxims of worldly men, yields to the persuasive force of evil example, and finally consciously abandons his obligation to be governed in his business by strictly Christian principles. He thus deliberately enters that service of Mammon which separates him in spirit, if not in form, from the service of God.* He has reached a crucial point in his experience, such as is finely illustrated by these noble words of Emerson:

"If, nevertheless, God have called any of you to explore truth and beauty, be bold, be firm, be true. When you say, 'As others do, so will I; I will renounce my early visions; I must eat the good of the land, and let learning and romantic expectations go until a more convenient season;' then dies the man in you; then once more perish the buds of art and poetry, as they have died already in a thousand thousand men."

Change the phrase "learning and romantic expectations" into moral nobleness and immortal expectations, and "art and poetry" into true manliness and exalted character, and these words of Emerson are strikingly descriptive of the Christian business man who, when brought face to face with an opportunity to gain gold by immoral means, has trampled on his principles, and let go of the most precious thing in his soul—his loyalty to God, truth, and justice. The Christian in him has died.

But these statements of palpable facts may appear to some as inconsequential commonplaces. In reality they are of vital importance to the life of the Church. They are a menace to the principle on which her existence depends. What is that principle? Is it not that of individual loy-

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* Since writing the above we have seen an article in the *Andover Review* entitled "Commercial Enterprise and the Criminal Law." It is by Ellis G. Seymour, Esq. It aims to show that "all those devices known in modern parlance as corners, business trusts, and manipulation of the markets in every form" are recognized in the common law as "criminal." He cites Lord Ellenborough as saying, "That which strikes at the price of a vendible commodity in the market is a fraud leveled at the public." He also quotes Mr. Sergeant Hawkins as saying, "All endeavors whatever to enhance the price of merchandise, and all kinds of practice which have an apparent tendency thereto, . . . are highly criminal at common law." He further cites Coke, who says, "The ingenuity of man could not contrive a shift to enhance the common price of commodities, whether by word, act, conspiracy, or news, that an attempt to execute it would not be punishable as a crime." And, commenting on the words of these great jurists, Mr. Seymour himself says, "So far as commercial enterprise is directed to raising or sustaining the selling price of what it deals with, it has ceased to be a benefit to the community and become the reverse. It is enterprise of precisely this kind whose license kindles anarchical and insurrectionary feelings among the mass of the people." How, then, it may be pertinently asked, can a Christian, who is under obligation to the law of love to his neighbor, which is wider in its sweep than "common law," be a party to devices condemned by both divine and human law without separating himself from Christ?

alty to Christ, so absolute as to be exclusive of selfism? Could Christ's Church exist without disciples to whom his words are supreme law, who put him first in all things, who, animated by his love, not only abstain from doing financial or other injury to their fellowmen, but adorn themselves with that "virtue" which Cousin defines as "a struggle against passion (selfism), a disposition to contribute to the happiness of others?" Manifestly it could not, because a living Church must be constituted of regenerated souls, who, having renounced their inherited and long-cherished selfism, have solemnly promised to love Christ, not in word only, but with an affection which seeks its highest gratification in doing His will.

The drift of the Mammon worship of to-day is to corrupt this divinely born affection, and to restore the reign of selfism. It aims to strike the Church where she is most vulnerable. Discerning the "heel of Achilles" in the liability of this affection to be alienated, the "god of this world" seeks, by manifold and novel devices, to inflict a deadly wound upon the Church by alienating it. And therefore it is that a question of life or death to the Church is involved in her conflict with the excessive activity and abnormal devices for the rapid acquisition of wealth which now give character to the doings of the business world. If her members who are men of business generally succumb to the law of selfism now prevailing in the world, they must inevitably lose their spiritual life, and thereby deprive her of a measure of her power. If with this loss they retain the form of godliness, and continue in the Church, the contagion of their example, the influence of their formalism, and their assured consequent hostility to faithful ethical preaching, must depress the spiritual tone and lower the moral standard of the whole body. Social amusements opposed to godliness will then be devised to hold her organization together. But her light will be darkness, and, instead of revealing God to men through her unspotted moralities and beautiful charities, she will stand before the world ethically disfigured, and, while still persuading herself that she "is rich and has need of nothing," will, in the sight of God, be "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

To preserve her own existence, therefore, the Church of Christ needs to stem, as best she can, the swelling tide of immoral methods of business, which is threatening to sweep honor, honesty, truth, justice, and fair dealing from our markets, manufacturing establishments, railway corporations, and business exchanges. She may not be able to stay it in that part of society which is avowedly hostile to religion, but she can call on her own members to pause, to "orient themselves," as Eastern travelers do when halting to observe the sun while crossing the deserts, and to learn that they cannot act on the supremely selfish principles of modern business and retain their spirituality. She can vigorously teach the truth that bad morals and true spirituality cannot co-exist in any man. She can affirm, on the authority of Jesus Christ, that if spirituality be genuine, the life must be ethically pure; if the life be corrupt, the spirituality is either sickly sentiment or intentional sham. For, as it is finely expressed by Professor C. C. Everett, "in the teachings of Jesus righteousness and

religion are found each interpenetrated by the other. There is no religion apart from righteousness, and no righteousness unsanctioned by religion." "And," says St. John, "this is love, that we walk after his commandments," which is equivalent to saying that true spirituality is inseparable from strict morality.

There is perhaps no clearer evidence of the presence and growth of selfism in society than the fact that not a few professing Christians deny that certain classes of unjust transactions are immoral. A gospel maxim teaches that "love worketh no ill to his neighbor." This truth, though accepted as applicable to such open immoralities as the adulteration of food, the sale of strong drinks, the violation of official trusts, thefts, adulteries, etc., is regarded by many as inapplicable to financial operations the profits of which must represent the losses, often the ruin, of other men. "Business," they affirm, "is business, and not religion." And, therefore, the successful operator, while exulting over his gains, looks with Cain-like coolness on the plucked victim of his scheming, and quiets his conscience, if perchance it whispers rebuke at all, by asking, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Surely it is fitting to tell such a man that by such theoretical and practical selfism he demonstrates himself to be utterly devoid of either a true concept or the possession of that spiritual life which, because its essence is love to God, must also be love to men. Not God but selfism is supreme in his heart. And though he might possibly shrink from being told that his selfism is identical in essence with the selfism of the immoral and criminal classes of society, it is even so. The selfism which is the root of every species of immorality is also the root of his financial methods, as it is also the source of that love of money which St. Paul calls the "root of all evil." This is a startling fact. And a man when told that the germ of gross offenses against God and man is also the governing force of his business may well stand aghast before it, and exclaim with Hazael the Syrian, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" Yet the fact remains. His selfism, though as yet undeveloped into unconventional and gross offenses, is identical in its essence with the principle of every crime that man may commit. Why else did Jesus declare that "out of the heart (the self-centered heart, that is; selfism) proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies?" Can these words mean less than that the selfism which gives birth to an evil thought may also become the accursed parent of deeds which spoil all beauty of moral character? But, since this is their meaning, how can the man whose selfish business transactions must inevitably involve loss and suffering to his fellow-men sustain his claim to be a disciple of the unselfish Christ? He cannot sustain it. In truth he condemns himself by making it, inasmuch as it is a law of that spiritual life which arises out of the love of God shed abroad in the heart that it must beget love to man. As Walker expressively phrases it, "the LOVE-DEATH of Christ, revealing the active benevolence of the Divine heart, communicates LOVE-LIFE to the souls of believers." And that love-life not only works no ill to one's neighbor, nor does him any injustice, but

guards his interests and promotes his well-being. It gladly obeys that beautiful precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." When, therefore, a business man deliberately seeks profit by methods which work injury to his fellow-men, does he not thereby demonstrate that his soul is estranged from that love-life which finds its highest delight in beneficent deeds? And when he defends his evil practices with arguments, does he not prove either his insincerity or his ignorance of the nature and effects of a life centered in God?

No attentive reader of the New Testament can fail to note how carefully it guards the shameless tendency of human depravity to abuse the abounding grace of God by making it an excuse for ethical misconduct. Men will extol the grace, grow rapturous in speaking of the mercy of God, while in practice they trample on his laws of love. But, as if recognizing and aiming to forestall this depraved disposition, the Saviour laid the strongest possible emphasis on the doctrine that an ethically pure life is inseparable from genuine faith. He even put this truth into the mouth of John the Baptist, his precursor, the key-note of whose preaching was a call to prepare for the Lord's coming by a repentance bearing as its fruits not meaningless tears, but deeds of charity, honesty, truthfulness and peace, with contentment. (Luke iii, 11–14.) And almost at the very beginning of his own teaching Jesus preached his memorable Sermon on the Mount, which is an inimitable epitome of the nature and ground of all ethical science. Moreover, in defining the love which is the essence of Christian life, he kept the rapturous emotions proper to that divine affection almost out of sight, and taught men to look for it, not so much in their feelings as in their actions. "Ye are my friends," he said, "if ye do whatsoever I command you. . . . If ye love me, keep my commandments." And he summed up his commandments in these noticeable words: "A new command I give unto you—that ye love one another." In these words the Master joined supreme love to God and love to man in holy wedlock, thereby making the ideal Christian life to consist in the union of spirituality and ethics. Hence, he who truly loves God not only refrains from doing wrong to his neighbor, but positively loves him with an affection that seeks to do him good.

Where, then, can we find the antidote to prevailing selfism but in a sweeping revival of that unselfish spirituality which spontaneously produces ethical fruit? How can the intrusion of selfism into the Church be prevented unless she place renewed emphasis on the indestructible fact that unethical spirituality is but frothy sentimentality foaming out its own shame, and not the true spirituality which "minds the things of the Spirit," and which is the synonym of obedience to Christ? Even Kant recognized this principle when he observed that "in the moral law we touch the Substance of things," that is, God. Thus the spiritual mind in its aspirations touches him by whom its impulses are begotten, and is ever seeking to know not the minimum of its obligation, but its utmost extent. It desires to do all his will. And by thus rising Godward, the man finds his conscience illuminated and quickened. His ethical con-

cepts are thereby broadened. He begins to see human duty not as the world sees it, but as God sees it, and as Christ taught it in his incomparable moral precepts. And he sees it, not merely as something to be sentimentally admired and talked about, but as something to be done, to be felt in the conscience, to be put into the life, to be coined into sterling deeds in all his relations to humanity.

Possessed of such a divinely begotten and aspiring inner life, a man will not even feel inclined to regard any of his activities as outside the claims of God. It will rather be to him a source of gladness that he may carry his love-life into all his business transactions, his political relations, his social habits, and his churchly duties, thereby making every act of life a holy thing, an offering of love on the altar of self-consecration. The example of every such a man is a luminous rebuke to the selfism of the times. And whenever it shall be an unquestioned fact that the business ethics of Christian men generally are thus free from the taint of prevailing selfism, their influence will become a swelling tide, sweeping with purifying force through the entire business world. Blessed, therefore, is that Christian business man in whom spiritual affection is a curb on all selfish ambition to be rich, and to whom the smile of God is more than a compensation for all the sacrifices of opportunities to acquire large wealth which the voice of duty may require at his hands. To such a man these words of Spenser will be clearly intelligible :

> "Loss is no shame, nor to be less than foe;
> But to be less than himself, doth mar
> Both loser's lot and victor's praise also;
> Vain others' overthrow who self doth overthrow."

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

SWITZERLAND seems to have a marvelous gift for taking the lead in good works. The little city of Geneva has a splendid record for activity in civil and religious liberty, and many purely humanitarian movements. One of the latest is that of having given birth to the noble effort for the relief of human suffering known as the "Red Cross."

The stupendous scale on which is waged modern warfare entails a vast deal of suffering among the sick and wounded of the conflicts, so that the sanitary service of the army is totally inadequate to relieve the great mass of suffering that follows in the immediate wake of battle. The Genevan Society of Public Utility saw this on the battle-field of Solferino in 1859, in which were engaged 300,000 men, and the sequel of which was cruelty so horrible that complaints arose in regard to it in all parts of Europe. The said society then turned its efforts in the direction of affording organized relief in aid of the official sanitary service.

A commission was appointed to study up the matter and report. They recommended an international convention for the adoption of ways and

means and rules. The movement was so well received that at the first meeting there were delegates from fourteen governments and various philanthropic associations. The result was the formation of an international association, in which each State should have its own society and be a member of the great body. Their respective governments were to assist in supporting them, but the movement was to be mainly a popular and voluntary one, and they were to be at the call of, and work in harmony with, the military authority. They were to establish hospitals, enlist workers, from nurses up to surgeons and chaplains, and always be close at the rear of the army for immediate aid. They adopted an international and neutral flag—a red cross on a white ground—and all members of the corps were to wear a white arm-band with the red cross. In each and all instances the workers were to be neutral and inviolable, and were to help friend or enemy.

At first the "red tape" of the army was inclined to be cool toward a purely civil measure; but when, in the famous conflict between Prussia and Austria in 1866, the Red Cross of Prussia sent out from Berlin in the rear of the army their own special train with 200 salaried employés, aided by 250 voluntary nurses, male and female, bearing supplies of all kinds to the amount of 200,000 pounds, with a value of $60,000, making a train of twenty-six cars in all, the nation was fairly crazed with joy at this popular support and sympathy for the soldiers.

The success of that expedition settled the case, and the Red Cross became at once the welcome auxiliary of armies. During the Franco-German war the Red Cross reported but 12,000 deaths in the hospitals, while in the French armies, where the Red Cross had not been established, there were reported no less than 120,000. Since this period the Red Cross has been active in Bulgaria, in Khiva, in Atcheen during the troubles with Holland, among the Zulus when attacked by the English, in the conflict of the French with Tunis, and more recently in Tonquin and Annam. Nearly all civilized countries now belong to the league. Even the Turks have come in, making the single condition that they might float the crescent instead of the cross on their banner. Japan has recently joined it, as has the Shah of Persia. The last international convention was recently held in the little Swiss city that gave it birth.

Poor Spain is still tossed from post to pillar by the bitter discussions of parties, and is always on the eve of revolution. What a sad fate she has, for a country that was once the mistress of the destinies of the world! The queen herself, in view of her nationality—for she is to the Spaniards in one phase only the hated Austrian, as was Marie Antoinette in France—is doing excellent service as the regent for her infant son. She has risen to that nobility of womanhood that maternity alone can inspire, and lives in and for her child. The Spaniards see this, and her devotion to them for her child's sake has for the nonce won them to her support. But she is in a stormy sea, and needs to steer her bark carefully not to receive a rude shock on some shoal or reef. Her liberal

statesman, Sagasta, has the wisdom and courage to grant the liberty of public assembly and of worship, and has declared himself in favor of civil marriage and trial by jury. All these things are violently opposed by the conservative element, led by Canovas, who is a model man in many regards but whose policy is detestable.

The multiplicity of political parties and counsels in Spain is made the more inconvenient because they will all have a hearing *nolens volens*. They are not willing to remain in the minority with the patience to let their cause grow according to its merits. They are so ardent and passionate that they must continually conspire, and *pronounce*, and fight and kick like unruly, passionate children. This makes it hard work for the sincere and ardent patriot to pursue his course in patience, hope, and peace.

The noblest statesman and patriot in Spain is still the gifted Castelar. He is at the head of a moderate party, and the enemy of all violent revolutions. He is incessantly engaged in the work of educating and elevating his people to a better political and national life. His eloquence, wisdom, and pure love of country make him indeed the first among his countrymen. It were indeed a happy day for Spain were she to conclude to listen to his counsels and confide in his manly wisdom. It is Castelar's misfortune that he has too far anticipated his age.

The curse of Spain is her Catholicism, which she defends with a perfect passion from all invasion from without. The new ideas that have so transformed Europe in many regards make no headway in Spain, where all religions and all political liberalism are alike regarded as heresy. This determined attitude of Spain and the mass of the Spanish population makes the work of Protestant missionaries very difficult. But still they work on with patience and hope. Theoretically the doors of Spain are open to the free preaching of the Gospel, though every chicanery is resorted to in order to evade or counteract the privilege. But in the face of all this the Protestant work goes on. In spite of persecution and injustice the Protestant faith is now taught in about one hundred and fifty villages or towns, and there are more than one hundred and fifty Protestant schools. Colporteurs are busy all over the land, and thus the Gospel is being spread in spite of hoots, and stripes, and persecution of every shade and kind.

The City of Paris is cursed with a municipal council that is fairly imbued with the spirit of evil. It has undertaken to purify the common schools, and, indeed, all the public institutions of the capital, by introducing a lay element in the place of the clericalism of the old *régime*. But this assembly, instead of taking the neutral ground according to its theory, is actually making a strong propaganda of *irreligion*, so that a very grave peril threatens the schools of Paris.

The first thing they did was to eliminate or expurgate all the text-books containing the name of God, even in an indirect allusion, as, for instance, in the name "Providence." They suppressed all religious service in a violent and offensive manner, and then, instead of stopping on neutral

ground, went away over to the teaching of blasphemy. One of the sacrilegious wretches went so far as to declare that the "fellow called God" should be consigned to the lumber-room, as not being in harmony with the progress of the age. They have been for some time brutally executing the decree of laicization of the hospitals; that is, all the voluntary nurses in the form of almoners and sisters of charity are being expelled from the "Hotel Dieu," the great hospital for the poor of Paris. This is a cruelly severe measure on both sides, for many of these faithful women have made for themselves no other home and occupation than that found in this retreat of suffering and misery. It would be easy to leave all these where they are, with the condition that they do not interfere with the religious convictions of the patients. But as these are naturally nearly all Catholics, they know and want no other faith in time of trial. Even one of the lay nurses has, after a long deliberation of the council, been dismissed because they found a crucifix in his private room. This is certainly a direct outrage on liberty of conscience.

The reform measures of this astute body in the schools consist in driving out the writings of the greatest and purest names in French literature, and adopting those of the most noted atheists and infidels. They propose founding also, with the money of the people, a chair of "Materialistic Evolution," with a view of training up a race of teachers that may produce a harvest of pupils like themselves. Can it be possible that the government will dare to indorse so vile a measure as to impress upon the public schools of Paris this base mark of irreligion? Yet the fear is that this vileness will be infectious, and extend to the other large cities of France. There is no graver evil of the period than this systematic effort to dechristianize the rising generation by violating the elementary principles of common law under the hypocritical name of neutrality of the State. The best men of the French Chambers are now trying to bring this matter to the light of day by exposing the hypocrisy of these veritable Jacobins. They are as much the Jesuits of atheism as ever were the Capuchins the propagators of ultramontanism. It is certainly time to bid them cease their war on religion and morality, before they succeed in possessing the souls of the children of the day and molding them in their own image in the slime of base materialism.

The Land of Huss seems to have its troubles in full measure. For a score of years there have been growing efforts on the part of the old Czech element to restore the language that was thought at one time to be dead and buried. But about the most difficult thing to eradicate from a nation is its mother-tongue, however little it may be adapted to the needs of the present. For a time the conflict was purely political between the Czech and the German element, Bohemia being a portion of the Austrian empire, and represented in the imperial Parliament. But, as the quarrel grew, it extended to the courts, the church, and the school. These latter were divided into German on the one side and Czech on the other, so that the children were early taught to despise each other; and in some sections,

where one element dominated largely, the other had no public elementary schools at all.

At last, some six years ago, the strife extended all the way to the famous University of Prague, at one time the leading school of all Europe, with twenty thousand pupils, making it the great and attractive center of a host of distinguished scholars. The result was, after a bitter conflict, the division of the University into two camps, in one of which the language was German and in the other Czech. But the work of division was not clearly done, because it was not carried into the theological faculty, where now lies the bone of contention. This ancient branch of the University contained only about one fifth of the German element, and it was left untouched because the chancellor of the theological faculty thought it dangerous to make a national division of the clergy. But a full university was promised to the Czechs in order that they might cease their troubling, and there seems nothing else to be done but to give it to them, notwithstanding the efforts of the archbishop to the contrary.

On the inauguration of the new rector, in November last, the retiring rector announced that the academic senate saw the necessity of this measure, and had warmly recommended it to the minister of public instruction. The minister received the deputation in a friendly manner, and assured it that he took an interest in the measure, and that it should be carried out as soon as it was possible in a satisfactory manner. In the meanwhile, in the archiepiscopal seminary, the theologians of both faculties work together as before. We regard the quarrel as a sad and foolish one.

The German Mission in Spain is a marked success, and has been mainly under the superintendency of Count Bernstorf, of Berlin, who went there in 1870 when Spain was first open to Protestant effort. The result of this journey was, to send Pastor Fliedner to Madrid, who has been uncommonly active amid the greatest embarrassments. Count Bernstorf recently made another visit to Spain in order to make a personal inspection of the work accomplished. He finds the condition somewhat changed in comparison with 1870. The full liberty and favor which greeted the Protestant movement at the period of the Republic has been much curtailed since the return of the Bourbons. Here and there Protestants find obstacles placed in their way by the government, but the influence of the upper on the lower classes of the population works effectively in keeping many from the Protestant service.

But still greater obstacles are present in the low grade of moral culture among the masses, the unfortunate experience of some of those who devoted themselves to the work in a weak way, and the differences that exist among the different sects engaged in the work. These troubles are made no less by the activity of the Jesuits in the schools, and the total absence of Sabbath consecration in all the land. But still the work goes forward, though not so rapidly as in the beginning; the movements are more quiet, steady, and judicious. In Madrid, in 1870, there was only one Protestant chapel

—now there are six; in all Spain there are about sixty to seventy Protestant congregations, or at least mission stations. Pastor Fliedner estimates the members at twelve thousand. Besides the German mission, there is one English Episcopal, one Scotch Presbyterian, one Wesleyan, one Baptist, and one American Congregational. In Madrid the German mission is the only one that possesses property, having a home in which is a chapel, a primary school and upper school, an orphanage, and a hospital. The greatest importance is attached to the school and the printing department. There are already several Spanish periodicals issued by the various workers. The call is still for aid in money and workers to build up a solid foundation for continuing the work to ultimate success.

THE PAPAL JUBILEE has not only opened the eyes of the world to the great power of the Catholic Church, but has also taught us that said Church is never satisfied. As, for instance, during the jubilee the holy father received the embassador of the German emperor in solemn audience, and accepted from his hands an autograph letter of the emperor, which the messenger delivered with assurance of the friendliest feelings of his master for the pope, and as interpreter of the wishes of the emperor, empress, and crown-prince for a long life and rule.

The pope thankfully acknowledged the many indications of good feeling of the emperor, and especially during the long proceedings that ended in religious peace in Germany. But he closed his reply with this peculiar turn: "Therefore this new testimony affects us most beneficently, and gives us reason to hope that his majesty will crown his work, on which the highest interests of the Church and the happiness of his Catholic subjects depend." But these assertions cause the greatest astonishment among the Germans. The Prussian government and chambers thought that they went last year to the utmost verge of possibility to please the pontiff, and many thought, indeed, that the interests of the State would gravely suffer for the concessions made. And now the pope cherishes the expectation that the emperor will crown his work, indeed!—that is, make still further concessions to the Roman Catholic Church in Prussia. This assertion of the pontiff, and the cordial reception granted to the special messenger from the German party of the center, show that there is no breach between the pope and this political ally, and that they both are ready to ask for more.

JERUSALEM has a very fickle population, that comes and goes according to certain events that may favor one or another of the sects or nationalities, and it is difficult to number it, consequently, especially in the crowded state of some of its quarters. According to the most reliable information, it now contains about nine thousand Mohammedans, eighteen thousand Jews, and at most seven thousand Christians—thirty-four thousand altogether. The Jews pretend to have a much larger number, but this assumption is not granted. The religious element of the city is as broad as it is various; for it embraces Protestants—a German congre-

gation, as well as one of the Episcopal English faith, with two churches; and the Latin Romish Christians, with one patriarch, and four churches and cloisters. Then comes the Greek Church, with a patriarch and several bishops; the Armenian Church, with two churches and a cloister; the United Greeks, with a cloister and a bishop; and the Syrian Christians, with a bishop, a cloister, and a church. Besides all these, there is in Jerusalem a number of the so-called "sects"—that is, the German Temple, the Adventists, etc. The Free-Masons have also gained a hold here, and an apostle of the Mormons has been working recently in Palestine and Syria. The Mohammedans have become bolder of late, and do not hesitate, in times of excitement, to do violence to Christians. An Austrian banker of Jerusalem has just gone to Constantinople to hand to the sultan a petition for a concession for a railroad from Jerusalem to Jaffa. This is numerously signed by all the dignitaries of the city and the entire consular corps.

The Imperial Crown of Germany has become such a power in the fatherland that he who is most likely to wear it is courted by all parties that seek for power and influence. Prince William is now the rising sun, and his training has induced him to take much interest in all Protestant mission work, especially the home mission efforts for the benefit of the great metropolis, which is steeped in sin and misery of all kinds. Therefore the men of various political tendencies are making much ado in the press because the prince recently was present and took an active part in encouraging the spread of religious influence in Berlin, in which he was seconded by the princess, who also has a heart for the extension of Christian care and charities to the poor. Now the liberal press on the one hand and the ultramontane on the other find abundance of material with which to attack the men who are nearest to the prince in this matter. Some fear that the prince will be a Jew-hater and baiter, and others pretend to know that he will revive the *kulturkampf* against the Catholic Church. Now the truth is that there is very little personal intercourse between the prince and the parties whom he seems to have favored; and what he said was only an assurance of his strong interest in the Christian charitable work now being inaugurated in the capital for the furtherance of benevolent objects. The prince himself declares that nothing could be further from the purpose of himself and wife than the endeavor to advance any party interest under the cloak of Christian effort. This flurry has at least given the prince an excellent opportunity to put himself on record, which he has nobly done in the famous public avowal that his highest aim will be to secure peace with God and man in his rule.

Shortly before Christmas the General Council of the Department of the Seine, as a fitting co-worker with the notorious City Council of Paris, decided to cease making the accustomed appropriation for the hospital for aged men of both faiths. Thus, while the children are not allowed to hear or see the name of God in the schools, the worn-out Christian work-

ers are to find no care or solace in their old age. But as the churches are not yet forbidden to visit them in mercy they will still be cared for in their needs. Even the dead are still persecuted, notwithstanding all the legal ordinances in regard to the "liberty of funerals." A Protestant officer in the army, sick unto death, refused the appeals of the priest to turn to the Catholic faith. As a punishment, said priest ordered his remains to be interred in a distant corner of the graveyard without ceremony of any kind, in spite of the appeals of his family.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE BIBLE IN JAPANESE. — In February a meeting was held in Tokio, Japan, to celebrate the completion of the translation of the Scriptures into the Japanese language. The New Testament was published in 1880, eight years having been occupied in its preparation. The Old Testament translation is mainly the work of Dr. Hepburn, the chairman of the Translation Committee, and of Dr. Verbeck and Mr. Fyson. They were ably assisted by two native assistants, who had also worked on the New Testament. The version is said to be an excellent one. The orders for the complete Bible have been very large. They poured in by mail and telegraph from all parts of the empire, and the demand was for a time beyond the supply. The New Testament, and portions of the Old Testament Scriptures, had been widely circulated, and much good had resulted. The Scriptures are now accessible to every body, and they will prove a powerful instrument in hastening the Christianization of Japan. Four years ago a Scripture Reading Union was formed through the efforts of a little girl. Connected with this union are more than nine thousand persons, scattered throughout Japan. These read the Bible daily, and as the majority of readers are not Church members, the results cannot fail to be large and gracious. Letters received from members of the Union are very cheering. One writing from Buzen says :

> Here we are uncivilized. The people are very ignorant. I am the only member of the Scripture Union. Other people believe in idols, and cannot see the light of God's truth. I have no pastor or teacher, and cannot hear preaching. I learn of Christianity only from the newspaper and the daily readings. Please ask for God's grace, though the place is bad, and pray that all may speedily turn to Christ.

Religious literature has been widely circulated in Japan by means of illustrated leaflets. Some one used one of these leaflets as a wrapper, and this wrapper attracted the attention of a traveler from an inland town. It was a story in illustration of John iii, 16. The traveler read it, was greatly impressed by it, and was led to embrace Christianity. The statistics for 1887, which have just been published, show that Christianity is making rapid progress in Japan. The total Church membership is now about 20,000, which indicates a growth of 5,000 during the year. The

number of churches is 221, being an increase of 28. Of this number 73 are reported as self-supporting. The number of native ministers is 102, and unordained preachers and helpers 191. There are 216 theological students, and 13,017 scholars in the Sabbath-schools. The total contributions were $11,567.

Missionary Growth in China.—China, though much older missionary ground, is not advancing as rapidly toward Christianity as Japan. The Chinese are much more conservative than the Japanese, and the missionary has far greater difficulties to surmount in reading and influencing them than are encountered in Japan. At the end of the first forty years only forty-one native Christians were reported in China, with thirteen native preachers. In 1853 there were 351 converts; in 1863, 1,974; in 1868, 5,743; in 1877, 13,035; in 1887, 32,260. In the last ten years the number has considerably more than doubled; and the gain for last year alone was 4,260. There are now 1,040 foreign missionaries in China, an increase of 121; there are also 175 native ordained and 1,316 native unordained preachers, an increase of 35 of the ordained and 20 of the unordained. The China Inland Mission has the largest number of missionaries—265—but stands sixth in order in the number of its communicants, having 1,932. Our own Church is credited with 71 missionaries, and 3,349 communicants, there being but three societies having a larger number of communicants. These are the American Presbyterian, which is first, with 3,786; the London, with 3,595, and the English Presbyterian, with 3,553. The London Society has been in the field since 1807, the American Presbyterian since 1838, and the English Presbyterian and our own society since 1847. The number of pupils in school is 13,777. The London Society leads, the Church Missionary Society is second, the American Presbyterian Board is third, and our Church is fourth, with 1,084 scholars. The total of contributions by native churches is $32,236, an increase of no less than $19,862. In this list our society is third. The London Society reports $17,200; the English Presbyterian, $3,920; the Methodist Episcopal, $3,473. The *Chinese Recorder*, in a review of the events of the past year, says the "doors are opening beyond any thing that seemed possible a few years ago."

As to the position of the government, the *Recorder* adds:

> The attitude of the central government is nominally that of friendly indifference toward Christianity. A recent proclamation by the Governor of Fukien is, so far as words are concerned, almost all that could be asked, acknowledging the treaty rights of missionaries and the natural rights of native Christians. It is, however, increasingly manifest that the government does not intend to foster Christianity. It will, as far as possible, avoid complications with foreign powers regarding the missionaries themselves, and regarding their converts, but it will repel any intrusion upon its own sovereignty. This attitude will no doubt be a better one for the purity and thrift of native Christianity than any thing more friendly would be; and we may hope that gradually, as the authorities learn that the Christianity which founds itself on an open Bible has no ulterior political ends, and that it educates the people to better service as dutiful and honest subjects, there may be relaxation of the fixed and powerful—though they may be silent—oppositions of the ruling literary classes.

PROTESTANT UNITY IN MEXICO.—The General Conference of missionaries of all denominations in Mexico, which was held, according to announcement, in February, was a noteworthy gathering. Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Friends, and others united in the Conference, discussed important questions, and reached important conclusions, and all without a single jar of discord. It was a spectacle designed to impress Mexican Catholics, who have made so much of the fact that Protestantism is divided. The Conference was, it appears, quite in harmony with the conclusion of a paper read by the Rev. S. P. Craver, D. D., of our mission, that the missions should not recognize the validity of Catholic baptism and ordination, and should labor, not to reform, but to overthrow the Roman system. The Conference also agreed with the Rev. H. P. Hamilton and the Rev. H. B. Pratt, of the American Bible Society, that there should be a new translation of the Scriptures into Spanish. The matter was referred to a committee, and the recommendation of the committee that a new translation be undertaken, that each of the Churches represented in the Conference appoint a member of a translation committee, and that the British and Foreign Bible Society be invited to join with the American Bible Society in publishing the translation, was adopted. The Conference also reached the conclusion that it is highly desirable that there should be one central Protestant College for Mexico. The plan adopted has these points: 1. The formation of a board of directors, composed of two representatives from each Church, one American and one Mexican, to be presided over by a foreign missionary. 2. This board to form the general plan and regulations for the college, and submit them to the various Churches for approval. 3. The various boards of missions to be requested to aid in the support of the college.

The most important action, however, taken by the Conference—and we are told that it was taken without a dissenting vote—was in the adoption of a plan of denominational comity. The points of this plan are in brief: 1. Towns of fifteen thousand or more inhabitants, not now occupied, may be entered by more than one denomination. 2. In places of less than fifteen thousand population, occupied by more than one mission, the oldest mission shall have right of sole occupancy, save in the case of private agreement between the interested parties. 3. A place formally occupied by a denomination, and abandoned for a year or more, may be occupied by another denomination. 4. The organization of a congregation and the holding of regular services constitute occupancy. 5. A Committee of Arbitration, to consist of one member of each denomination, was appointed to decide questions arising under this plan for arbitration. Its decision is to be final.

The importance of this action can hardly be exaggerated. It will prevent, if faithfully adhered to, much waste and rivalry. There are eleven denominations represented in Mexican mission work, with 123 missionaries, and upward of 12,000 communicants. There are 88 ordained and 65 unordained native preachers. The Rev. J. G. Hall, of the Southern

Presbyterian Mission, says that the preaching of the Gospel by Mexicans has aroused a general spirit of inquiry; a spirit that refuses to be silenced, as formerly, by the anathemas of the priests. The influence of Protestantism has also begun to tell on the Roman Church. Roman priests, in imitation of Protestant ministers, now baptize in some places without charge. They are also driven sometimes to examine the Bible. Mr. Hall tells this story of one of them:

> A short time ago a priest on his regular round reached a ranch at which we have been preaching. He presented himself at the house of the principal man of the place, intending to go through his mummeries there as usual; but the man told him that he no longer gave the use of his house except for the preaching of the Gospel; but if the priest wished to preach the Gospel the house was at his service. In the discussion that followed, the priest brought forward what Christ had said to Peter; but upon being handed a Bible, and asked to show it, he could not find the place, and left the ranch covered with confusion. They said he began to look for it in the Old Testament!

Sir William Hunter on Missions in India.—The latest tribute to the work of Protestant missions in India is by Sir William Wilson Hunter, author of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. He thinks the growth of Mohammedanism due more to social considerations than to religious fervor. Islam offered "to the teeming low castes of eastern Bengal, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of the Hindu community, a free entrance into a new social organization." Hinduism, in like manner, exhibits within itself a principle of emancipation and adaptation more gradual, and, therefore, comparatively speaking, less attractive. As to Christianity in India it need not, he thinks, shrink from the test of results.

> While the number of native Protestant Christians has increased by fivefold during the thirty years preceding the last census, the number of their communicants has multiplied by nearly tenfold. The progress has been a progress of conversion, concurrent with a progress of internal growth and of internal discipline. It is the result, not alone of the zeal which compasseth the earth to make a proselyte, but also of the pastoral devotion which visits the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and labors to keep its flock unspotted from the world.

Sir William thinks the missionary enterprise the "highest modern expression of the world-wide national life" of the Saxon race.

An agreement has been reached between England and France by which the calamity of French occupation in the Papuan Islands is avoided. The Presbyterian missions, the Free and United Churches of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Australia are being extended, and are gradually redeeming the group. Of the thirty inhabited islands three more have just been added to the list of those in which the Gospel is preached. The older stations have supplied many native teachers for the new stations. These natives leave comfortable homes behind them, and go to islands where they have to learn a new language and endure much hardship. One of the missionaries says, concerning new stations established: "It seems rather a singular thing that all these four missionaries will require to reduce a new language to writing before the natives can get the word of God in their own tongue."

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION on the Congo has met with wonderful success. At Banza Manteka there are two hundred baptized Christians who have been enrolled as Church members, and there are a number of candidates. The converts cheerfully assist in carrying the materials for a chapel from Tunduwa, a distance of fifty miles. Some have made as many as four trips, and that, too, without pay. Five young men have been converted at Palabala.

WHILE the Moslem faith is being highly commended by some Christians as doing more for Africans than Christianity, it is well to remember that Mohammedans are responsible for the present position of women in India. Before the Afghan and Mogul invasion women were allowed their natural position in Hindu society.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE *Quarterly Review* for January contains a very carefully prepared article on "The Roman Catholics in England," which may serve to correct the opinion, held by many Americans, that the dream so fondly cherished by the Latin Church, of the "conversion of England" to the faith it renounced more than three centuries since, is in course of fulfillment. By questioning the history of those centuries, the statistical returns of the British registrar-general, and recent English Roman Catholic writers, our reviewer reaches the conclusion that, instead of advancing "toward the goal of national conversion, Roman Catholics now are, relatively to the whole nation, just where they were in 1669!" With respect to their progress in recent times he says: "The fact is simply that fifty years ago Roman Catholics constituted nearly one third of the population of the United Kingdom, and now are reduced to one seventh." This decrease in the relative growth of Romanism is confirmed by facts admitted and deplored by a Roman Catholic authority cited in the *Review* named above. This Catholic writer computes the Roman Catholic population in England and Wales as having been 800,000 in 1841. "The increase in population since 1841," he says, "has been 62 per cent. (30,537,275 as compared with 18,845,424), and if this had extended to the Roman Catholic portion, their increase should have been 496,000; giving a total of 1,296,000, without making any allowance for converts or immigrants. But there has in fact been a very large immigration, especially from Ireland. This has brought a million more to swell their numbers. Accordingly, this is how they ought to stand now:

Roman Catholic population in 1841	800,000
Increase at 62 per cent	500,000
Irish-born residents	780,000
Children born of Irish parents	280,000
	2,360,000."

Yet this Catholic writer can put the present number of his sect no higher than 1,362,760; and thereby he admits an actual loss of 1,000,000. "Thus," the reviewer comments, "if there had been no Irish immigration the Anglo-Roman body would have seriously diminished in numbers, and as that immigration has now become very small it can be no longer relied on for preventing shrinkage."

These facts do not justify the fear begotten in many minds by the Oxford secession some years since, that the ritualistic spirit in the Anglican Church was destined to lead vast numbers into the Church of Rome. But the magnitude of that movement was for a time greatly exaggerated. Catholic boasting gave it an undue importance which startled the Protestant world. But when, ten years ago, a Catholic organ published week by week a list of "Rome's recruits," that list contained the names of 335 clergymen, 765 laymen, and 716 ladies. Since then as many more have seceded as bring up the total of clergy and laity to 1,900. Of clergymen, less than one per cent. of the whole Anglican clergy seceded during the time covered by those secessions. And the movement Romeward, instead of proving continuous, soon came to a sudden pause. It steadily slackened, and "has never shown any tendency toward recovery." During the last thirty years "not five persons have seceded whose departure produced so much as a ripple on the surface." The Vatican decree of 1870, proclaiming the dogma of infallibility, created a barrier which none but "intellectual or moral cripples" have since been inclined to cross.

Among the three hundred and fifty clergymen who may be named as having gone over to Rome, perhaps sixty of them were men of mark. Cardinal Newman is the greatest of them all. Manning stands next. Faber, Wilberforce, Palmer, Ward, Northcote, Coleridge, and some others, are men of great capabilities, from whom much might be expected. Why, then, it is asked, have these men achieved so little for the proud old Church for whose smile they sacrificed so many pleasant parishes and life-long associations? As our reviewer reasons, their social standing, liberal culture, and knowledge of ecclesiastical questions, should have given them power to raise the whole body of the Anglo-Catholic clergy to a higher plane, and to win a wide and potent influence over the cultivated laity, both within and without the Catholic Church. These results did not follow, because, as our reviewer suggests, most of them, governed by the law of reaction, instead of adopting a robust, moderate, liberal type of German and old Catholicism, became Ultramontanists, and sought to Italianize the Anglo-Roman Church in doctrine, discipline, devotion, and act. As a French bishop remarked, their Catholicism is "Romanism gone mad." Hence they failed both to win the sympathies of the old Catholic families of the country and to make converts from among the laity of the Anglican Church.

Accepting these facts and reasonings, one may reasonably regard the Pope's dream of making a conquest of England as nothing more than "the baseless fabric of a vision." Romanism is more likely to become moribund than triumphant in Protestant England. This is in truth feared

by its own advocates, for *The Month*, one of its English organs, says: "It is not, however, so much that converts are fewer, as that our own people in great numbers are falling away." A comprehensive study of Romanism in America leads to a similar conclusion. Rome is out of harmony with the spirit of the age, with the teaching of holy writ, and with God. Hence, having already lost its political dominion, it is undergoing its predicted doom of gradually consuming away preliminary to its complete destruction.

The *Andover Review* for March treats a wide range of topics. In its leading article Professor Hincks pleads vigorously for a probation after death, because he can see no other way to harmonize the justice and goodness of God with the fact that multitudes of men neither have nor can have any knowledge of Christ in the present life. But since God, who is wiser than either the professor or the wisest of theologians, has not seen fit to reveal just how his righteousness in dealing with the unenlightened millions of the human race is justified, as faith assures us it must be, is it not better for purblind man to wait until he is taught "to know as he is known" than to read his own explanations into God's holy word? "Is Protestant Unity Possible?" is discussed by Rev. J. B. Wasson in a truly catholic spirit. He contends not for organic union, nor for the absorption of all others into one existing sect, but that all should come together by each dropping whatever in itself is neither helpful nor necessary. In what way the sects are then to reach a common mode of action he does not show; but he thinks that in mission fields the churches might even now agree to sacrifice denominationalism, and teach nothing but "the spirit of essential Christianity." All this is assuredly desirable. Yet how to attain it is a problem not yet solved, because Christian life cannot be preserved without being formally organized. Who is to determine what that form shall be? Edward W. Bemis discusses "Restriction of Immigration," and recommends the adoption of a "passport system" administered by our consuls, who should be instructed to refuse passports to paupers, to criminals, to single persons over sixteen years of age, to none over that age who cannot read and write, to persons assisted by charitable and governmental agency, or by American corporations. His plan deserves serious consideration. We have more of Europe with us now than we can reduce to homogeneousness. We must, therefore, narrow the gate of immigration or be overwhelmed by the dregs of its population. Ellis G. Seymour, Esq., in treating of "Commercial Enterprise and Criminal Law," suggests a method of striking down those engines of commercial oppression known as "trusts," "corners," etc. After showing that English courts have decided that whatever "strikes at the price of a vendible commodity in the market is a fraud leveled at the public," he affirms that this principle is common law in the United States. He insists that it should now be placed by the States into statutes making it "a felony" to conspire, confederate, or agree to limit or control the free production or sale, or to fix the market price of commodities, or to sell for

future delivery merchandise, shares, or certificates. In this Mr. Seymour takes "a bull by the horns" which is trampling on the honesty of the country and doing an incalculable amount of damage to the public weal. The *Andover Review* did well to give his article a place in its pages. Its March number, as a whole, is a very excellent one.

The *New Princeton Review* for March is filled with well-written papers. It treats of "Emerson;" of "The Present Ethical Relations of Absolute Idealism and Naturalism;" of "Christianity and the Secular Spirit;" of "Practical Politics;" of "Some Aspects of Modern Literature," etc. Of Emerson, the genial reviewer says his sense of style was deficient and prosaic, because it was the expression of what his intellect saw without the aid of imagination. He always had something to say, though he may have said it badly. He was never commonplace. His prose is better than his poetry, though it is often jerky and hard. Some of it is wonderfully fine. Emerson stood for the dignity of the individual, but had small faith in the masses. He teaches us to look to the future and to reverence the good wherever we find it, but he has absolutely nothing to offer by way of consolation to the depressed, for the reason that he had no sense of sin. One never carries away conviction from his writings. Nevertheless, says the reviewer, his character was adorned with a Pauline catalogue of virtues. Perhaps this is true, yet one must regret that his virtues were not rooted in a Pauline faith. The sound conclusion reached in the very able paper on the "Ethical Relations of Idealism," etc., is that "what the Christian religion promises in an immortal life is the accomplishment in unwearied activity of the ideal of moral law." R. S. MacArthur, in "Christianity and the Secular Spirit," sees but one remedy for the prevalent secularity, namely, that the Church must evangelize the people. He is surely right. Spirituality *is* the only cure for selfish secularity. In the "Aspects of Modern Literature" H. W. Mabie very correctly teaches that "great books are born, not in the intellect, but in experience; in the contact of mind and heart with the great and terrible facts of life;" that as self-consciousness becomes the possession of a larger number of men, the faculty and power of expression are developed until gift of the fortunate few becomes the delight of the many, the literary the impulse is quickened, literature is expanded, its character is changed, its forms are multiplied, and its art improved. Its chords vibrate, and "the lyre yields its full harmony to the passionate touch of life." Viewed as a whole, this number of the *New Princeton* is interesting, valuable, and suggestive.

The *North American Review* for March is freighted with vigorously written articles of general interest. It opens with twenty-two letters from as many leading Republicans on the desirability of organizing "Permanent Republican Clubs" throughout the country. If uncontrolled by machine politicians such clubs might be very beneficial, but the political antecedents of some of these letter-writers do not encourage one's hopes that they would escape such control. M. D. Conway, in a very inconclusive

paper on "Judas the Iscariot," claims without proving that the story of the betrayer of our Lord is a "confused legend," of which every item is "mythical." Surely there is nothing so credulous as unbelief! In "The President's Puzzle," Mr. A. Carnegie objects to the President's proposal to reduce "the surplus" by lowering the tariff. This, he thinks, would only increase importation, and thereby keep up the present excess of revenue. He prefers that our bonds, not yet payable, should be bought up at their market values. He thinks our high tariff is a national good. *Per contra*, John P. Irish, in "The Two Messages," praises the President because, by his messages, he has made the issue "not between free trade and protection, but between economy and unnecessary taxation." Perhaps this *Review's* most valuable article is Gail Hamilton's "Lion's Side of the Lion Question," in which she discusses the duty of our government to the Indians, whom she easily proves to have been deeply wronged. She also sharply, and with apparently good reason, condemns the proposal now under discussion to give them the ownership of their land in severalty. Under the present policy an Indian may own, occupy, and bequeath to his children all such land in the Indian territories as he chooses to fence in and cultivate, but he cannot sell it. Neither can his children. As long as they cultivate it it remains theirs. If they abandon it, it reverts to the community. Give them titles in severalty, and many, perhaps most of them, will sell it to greedy white men. So reasons Gail Hamilton. Murat Halstead, in a strong and conclusive paper, opposes the proposal to place the telegraphy of the country in the hands of the government. Colonel R. G. Ingersoll, in "Art and Morality," defends the nude in art, seemingly forgetful that the Greeks, who encouraged it, were so impure in their social life that the bare description of that life, as given by Atheneus in his *Banquet of the Learned*, and by other writers, is too offensive to be read except with intense ethical disgust. The nude in art is the expression of impurity in the community which approves it.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Book of Job (according to the Version of 1885), with an Expository and Practical Commentary, Enriched with Illustrations from Some of the Most Eminent Modern Expositors, and a Critical Introduction. By DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D. 8vo. pp. 302. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $2.

But for one's belief in the future life one could scarcely open this volume without a sigh of unalleviated regret that the hand which penned it is moldering in the dust. That faith, however, mitigates one's regret, because it gives assurance that the mind which guided the gifted pen still lives in the unspeakable enjoyment of the reward that crowns a well-spent life.

The Book of Job, as Dr. Curry well says, ranks "among the few great poems of the world." Its problem is "how to harmonize with essential righteousness the manifest disproportions among men of sins and sufferings, and the obvious and undeniable fact that sin often goes unpunished and righteousness fails of its just recompense." Job and his friends struggled in vain to find its solution. Nor do the words of God addressed to Job more than partly dissolve the mist which hid the secret from their vision. The dissolution of that mist had to await the coming of Christ, the divine revealer of truth.

Dr. Curry's treatment of this sublime drama includes a scholarly and critical introduction, which discusses the various opinions of critics and biblical students concerning the historical character of the book, its probable author, the personality of Job, a remarkably luminous exposition of its text, and a series of exceedingly rich illustrative notes from many eminent commentators on this sublime poem. By pursuing this method the doctor was enabled to give his readers not only his own ripest thoughts, but also those of Ewald, Delitzsch, Davidson, Canon Cook, Tayler Lewis, Archdeacon Wordsworth, Zöckler, Albert Barnes, Dr. J. K. Burr, Dr. Conant, etc. Hence his work may be fitly described as a banquet of choice thoughts, the fruits of his own strong mind and of the intellects of many of the best thinkers and ripest scholars of the present age who have studied this grand poem. It combines admirable taste with the results of much learning. Every lover of good literature will be delighted with it. The spiritually minded man will read it with profit. Those who knew its author will keep it as a prized memento of a truly great man. The sons and daughters of exceptional afflictions will be helped to see in Job the type of men who seek to solve the problems of life in the light of simple theism; who either through ignorance, like that of Job, or willful rejection of the doctrine of retribution and compensation in the future life, fail to find the only key to their solution. Job was a theist sitting in the twilight of Old Testament revelation. Had he, or the writer of the poem which bears his name, grasped the comforting truth that the present afflictions of righteous men are to yield them a "weight of glory" in the hereafter, this drama would not have been written. As it is, the story of Job's perplexities teaches the Church of Christ to rightly estimate the value of the revelations concerning the life to come given to the world by her Lord and Saviour.

Apologetics; or, The Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. Ebrard, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Vol. 3. 8vo, pp. 406. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

In this, the concluding volume of his *Apologetics*, Ebrard begins with ethnographic and historical sketches of the half-civilized and savage races of Asia and Polynesia. Under this head one finds very clear accounts of the religions of the Ugrarian-Finnic-Tartar, the Mongolian, the Malay, and the Cushite races. Following these we have similar information concerning the savage races of Africa, and then a very learned account of the immi-

grations into America of the Malays, the Africans, the Japano-Mongols, the Chinese who founded the Toltec, and subsequently the Aztec, empires, and the Ugro-Finns, or Siberians, from whom the red-skins, or Indian tribes, are supposed to have descended. These sketches contain the results of very wide historical researches. Their statements are amply sustained by references to recognized authorities, and, though necessarily condensed, they impart a vast amount of very valuable information. The "Second Book" of this volume treats of "The Revelation of God," "The Redemptive Acts of God," and "The Effects of Redemption." In summing up the results of the facts previously treated, Ebrard nowhere finds any trace of an upward movement from fetichism to the knowledge of God, but a universal tendency to sink from an earlier and relatively purer knowledge of God. He also finds abundant evidence of the unity of the human race, and of the accord of its traditions with its history as outlined in Scripture. Among the redemptive acts of God he places the flood and the confusion of languages, because these far-reaching events were designed to save the human race from sinking into incurable obduracy. To prepare the way for redemption God called Abraham and made him the father of a people chosen to counteract the growth of idolatry by teaching the doctrine and worship of one ever-living, personal God. The crowning redemptive act was the incarnation and the atoning death of the Lord. The effects of this grand act Ebrard traces in the subsequent history of the nations, in the conflicts between the faith of the Church and the manifold forms of human unbelief and human sin. "In the history of this kingdom" (the invisible kingdom of Christ), he somewhat fancifully says, "the history of the Lord is repeated. The persecution of the child Jesus by Herod answers to the pre Constantine persecution by the heathen world outside the Church. The age that followed corresponds to the three and a half years' official activity of Christ. When the prophesied falling away (Rev. xvii) has been accomplished, and an end has been made of the witnesses of the law and of the Gospel (Rev. xi, 7), then will the days of the passion for the invisible Church of Christ have come, which he will bring to an end by his second coming." Thus Ebrard seems to hold a somewhat pessimistic view concerning the complete triumph of the Gospel over the human race. But, despite its pessimistic conclusion, this is a great and scholarly work, showing wide, conscientious research, and containing an immense amount of knowledge invaluable to the student of Christianity. Its style is transparently clear and its spirit eminently evangelical.

Apologia ad Hebræos. The Epistle (and Gospel) to the Hebrews. By ZENAS. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

This work is of more value for the material which it furnishes to the student of the Epistle to the Hebrews than for the conclusions reached by the author. He claims that it is not intended to enlighten the learned, while at the same time he proposes that his work shall be independent of previous laborers in the same field. The book would have

been more valuable if the writer had wrought it out in full view of the previous writings on this important epistle. As it is, the work shows a very thorough study of the epistle in its relations to the other books of the New Testament. The author has also introduced much that will be of value to the reader. Its chief importance, however, lies in the material which it furnishes from the stand-point of an independent student toward the understanding of the epistle. Some points which are raised are very suggestive and valuable. It lacks, however, that consecutiveness necessary for a text-book on the epistle. The book would have been more serviceable if the results of the discussions had been embodied in notes and employed in the elucidation of the epistle.—B.

The People's Bible. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. Vol. XIII in the series; Vol. VII, O. T.; 1 Samuel xviii—1 Kings xiii. Funk & Wagnalls, 18 and 20 Astor Place, New York. Price, $1 50.

The greater part of this volume is taken up with the history of David, and hence is unusually full of interest. The leading incidents of the eventful life of Israel's favorite king are dwelt on in order as they are recorded in the book expounded. The picture of the times is vividly represented, and the character of David graphically portrayed. "David's Lament over Saul," "David's Magnanimity," "Nobleness and Selfishness," "Two Aspects of David," "Five Traits in the Character of David," are some of the suggestive headings under which these subjects are discussed. On David's wickedness in the matter of Uriah, Dr. Parker is terribly but justly severe, pointing out "the evil which he wrought in the land, and meting out to him the full penalty, so that the scoffer should have no advantage over the Christian in condemning the wickedness of the king." He reminds those who would be severe critics of David that "his good qualities were many and strong," and suggests that "character is not a question of points and particular excellences or special defects. Character is a matter of spirit, purpose, aim, and tone of life." As in the previous volumes, the "Handfuls of Purpose" are suggestive, and will well repay the careful reader.—C.

The Gospel According to Mark. By the Very Rev. G. A. CHADWICK, D.D., Dean of Armagh, Author of *Christ Bearing Witness to Himself*, etc. 8vo, pp. 446. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1 50.

Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians and Philemon. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. 8vo, pp. 493. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1 50.

The above-named volumes belong to a series to be published under the general title of "The Expositor's Bible," edited by the Rev. W. R. Nicoll, editor of *The London Expositor*. They are to contain "expository lectures" on the Bible by distinguished theologians, who, while embodying the latest results of biblical scholarship in their expositions, will in their treatment have respect to the needs both of the clergy and the intelligent laity.

The volumes before us show that these needs are likely to be satisfactorily supplied. Dr. Chadwick's expositions of St. Mark's gospel are

able, thoughtful, sufficiently critical, discriminative, and suggestive. His style is terse, vigorous, clear, at times sparkling, and never heavy or tedious. He brings out the sense and practical lessons of the evangelist with more than ordinary skill. His volume will be helpful to the clergy and profitable to Christians generally.

Dr. Maclaren in his exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians brings out its great topic, the dignity and sole sufficiency of Jesus Christ as the Mediator and Head of all creation and of the Church, with signal ability. He gives the conclusions without the processes of exegetical and textual examinations. He writes as one gifted with deep insight into the apostle's meaning, and in a style that, though not ornate, is yet very attractive. He is a strong thinker, a clear, pithy writer, apt in giving a practical turn to the great thoughts of the apostle, and without being strongly emotional is very decidedly evangelical in spirit and impressive in his mode of expressing profound truths.

The Student's Hand-Book of Christian Theology. By Rev. BENJAMIN FIELD, edited by the Rev. J. C. SYMONS, with an Introduction by Rev. L. TYERMAN. 12mo, pp. 339. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1.

This work has been in circulation for eighteen years, and twenty-three thousand copies of it have been sold in England and Australia. Dr. Tyerman truly says of it, "There is no better compendium of divine truths as expounded by Mr. Wesley than this." It is orthodox, clear, discriminating, pointed in style, and exceedingly comprehensive. For adult Bible-classes, local preachers, students for the ministry, and for the family library we know of nothing superior to it. Mr. Symons's learned "Notes" to the present edition define the terms used by modern materialists, and in other respects add greatly to its original value.

The Golden Alphabet; or, the Praises of Holy Scripture. Setting forth the Believer's Delight in the Word of the Lord; being a Devotional Commentary on the One Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm. By C. H. SPURGEON. 12mo, pp. 341. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. $1.

Mr. Spurgeon took the title of this book from the Germans, who call the 119th Psalm "The Christian's Golden A B C of the Praise, Love, Power, and Use of the Word of God." Its matter is mostly taken from his larger work, *The Treasury of David.* Its expositions of the Psalm are sound, pertinent, practical, and devotional in their spirit. Pithiness, pungency, quaintness, directness, and vigor characterize Mr. Spurgeon's style. He is a live man and this is a live book.

Self-Reliance Encouraged. For Young Ladies; indicating the Principles and Possible Measures which will Insure Honorable Success Here and Hereafter. By JAMES PORTER, D.D., Author of *The Chart of Life,* etc. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1.

Dr. Porter possesses "the art of putting things." He is also a man of much practical wisdom. In this volume he has applied both his wisdom and his art to the purpose of giving directions to young ladies on matters essential to their highest well-being. Hence this volume is both interesting and valuable.

The Fire of God's Anger; or, Light from the Old Testament upon the New Testament Teaching concerning Future Punishment. By L. C. BAKER, Author of *Mystery of Creation and of Man.* 12mo, pp. 282. Philadelphia: Office of *Words of Reconciliation.*

The theories of this volume are somewhat mixed. It is compounded of truth and error: of crude speculations concerning the future life, the resurrection, probation after death, and the annihilation of finally obstinate souls. The writer, though not without literary ability, is yet lacking in exegetical skill, and is more apt in reading his theories into the sacred text than in fairly deducing them from it. Hence his thoughtful readers will be apt to rise from its perusal with a disposition to say, "The law of God's mouth is better unto us than the ungrounded reasonings of this book."

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

The Reign of Causality. A Vindication of the Scientific Principle of Telic Causal Efficiency. By ROBERT WATTS, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the General Assembly's College, Belfast. 8vo, pp. 414. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Dr. Watts wields an incisive and forcible pen. He strikes the knots of the false philosophy by which the facts of science are perverted from their right interpretation and use into weapons of attack on revealed religion. He sees nothing in the discoveries of science which, if rightly comprehended, is not in harmony with scriptural theology. In this confidence he dissects Professor Tyndall's "impersonal atomic theory," showing that it does not account for those phenomena of sensation, thought, consciousness, and continuous feeling of personal identity which are manifest in universal humanity. With the same effectiveness he unmasks Huxley's hypothesis that "animal organisms are mere automata," and Spencer's futile attempt to set forth the general truths of biology as illustrative of and as interpreted by the laws of evolution. The former hypothesis he demonstrates to be contradictory to well-established physiological facts; the latter he shows to be built on false assumption and worthless criticism, absolutely without evidence, failing to conform to the primary belief that evidence of design implies the existence of a designer, and to satisfy that moral want in the human mind which can find no rest in any theory of the universe which does not recognize the presence of an omnipotent moral intelligence as the efficient cause of all the forces operating in the universe.

Agnosticism, which affirms the first cause of existing forces in nature to be absolutely unknowable; the Huxleyan cosmogony, which substitutes "secondary causes" for a living Creator and Governor in the universe; evolution, and "utilitarianism" which assumes that "the sole end of human action is happiness, and that the tendency to promote happiness is the sole and single test of virtue," are also examined in the light of sound philosophy and revelation, and found to be contrary to both. To general readers, however, the professor's chapter on "Natural Law in the Spirit-

ual World" will be the most interesting part of his book, because, while recognizing the rare beauty and real value of Dr. Drummond's well-known work on that subject, it exposes its fallacies with a logical force that commands conviction. The corner-stone of that book is the assumed "*identity* of the laws of the natural and spiritual worlds." This identity Professor Watts denies. He shows the teaching of science is, that "no one law pertaining to any one department of the natural can be introduced into any other." "The foundation of the law is to be found in the qualities of the subject whose mode of action has its expression in the law. . . . Change the qualities and you change the law." If, therefore, the laws which are found in the natural world are not identical, it is absolutely unreasonable to claim that the laws which operate in the *spiritual* are or can be identical with those in the natural. There is *analogy*, but not *identity*, between them. The same conclusion is reached with respect to Drummond's theory concerning "the doctrine of biogenesis, which teaches that life springs from antecedent life." Taken in its broadest sense, this law has its place in the spiritual world so far that spiritual life in the human soul is originated by the operation of the living, the divine Spirit; but there is no analogy between the production of life in living organisms by means of a life-cell and the genesis of spiritual life in a human soul by the mysterious operation of the Holy Spirit. These distinctions, with others respecting causality and law, are clearly and logically worked out by Dr. Watts, whose remarkably incisive style is admirably adapted to his polemical treatment of those objections which pseudo-science has of late pressed with much subtle skill against theology. The fullness and freedom with which he writes cause one to feel that he has sounded the depth of the problems he so ably discusses.

The Gist of It: A Philosophy of Human Life. By Rev. THOS. E. BARR, B.A., with an Introductory Note by Rev. D. S. GREGORY, ex-President of Lake Forest University. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1 50.

To the educated youth whose mind is perplexed by the multiform objections of modern skeptical scientists and philosophers to the solutions of the great problem of life contained in the religion of Christ, this volume will be eminently serviceable. It is the work of a young man who has felt the force and tested the weight of such objections. As such it is a very remarkable book, inasmuch as the power to analyze with keen discrimination the abstruse and recondite ideas which enter into the philosophies of present and past times is rarely found in young writers. But Mr. Barr possesses the knowledge, the ability, and the patience of investigation necessary to the successful performance of his self-imposed task. He is evidently a widely read and clear thinker, gifted with more than ordinary power of literary expression. Hence there is a graphic force in his style which, despite the gravity and occasional intricacy of his themes, makes his book eminently readable.

In his first chapter Mr. Barr discusses *The Facts of Life*, by proposing and answering these five questions: What am I? Where am I? Whence

am I? Whither am I going? What is my relation to my situation, my origin, my future? Having carried his readers over the broad field of thought implied in these inquiries, he proceeds to give the "interpretation of the facts." In doing this he first considers the fundamental requisites of an interpretation; next, the various "schemes proposed" by antichristian thinkers, and then offers conclusive proof that "Christianity is alone able to meet all the tests."

In discussing theism Mr. Barr begins with the phenomena the key to the interpretation of which he finds in self-consciousness. "Every phase of the argument," he says, "starts from self-consciousness, and finds therein its own correlative. The unified synthesis of man is the type of the unified synthesis of God. Groping through his own physical envelopment, man touches and interprets the unfolding world—the garment of God. . . . When freed from the domination of passion, prejudice, and superstition, and suffered to comport itself in normal activity, the human spirit naturally, necessarily, threads its way through the complex of life and being till it stands and communes face to face with the most real, the most concrete of all beings—the theist's, the Christian's God."

The original feature of the volume is not in the novelty of either its facts or arguments, but in its method, which is strikingly unique. It contains no small amount of information concerning the manifold philosophical theories which serve to vex without enlightening the souls of men, as well as of the views of Christian thinkers who see the facts of life in the light which streams from the face of Him who is the Light of the world. Its wide circulation, especially among young men of intellect and culture, could scarcely fail of essentially aiding the progress of truth.

The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered. By ROBERT L. DABNEY, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the Union Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 415. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. $2 50.

This is a new edition of Dr. Dabney's work, which, having won public approval and patronage during the last decade, now re-appears with supplementary chapters on "The Evolution of Human Souls" and "Final Causes." Its author is not technically a scientist, but a master in philosophy, who has evidently studied with care and thoroughness the writings of such modern materialists as Mill, Tyndall, Spencer, Huxley, Darwin, etc. He has the insight which perceives their fallacies, the logic that mercilessly demonstrates the fundamental falsehoods on which their theories rest, and the power of making his statements and arguments transparently clear.

There is no metaphysical mist in this book, which, notwithstanding the gravity of its themes, is positively entertaining to one who is interested in the ingenious problems with which skeptical philosophers seek to perplex Christian theists. His supplementary chapter on "Evolution" makes effective use of the fact that, despite the plausible reasonings on natural facts which give apparent support to the evolutionary theory, it utterly fails to account for the genesis of rationality, of speech, and of

conscience in the human race. In rejecting the creative act of God from its creed concerning the origin of man, it illustrates, not the wisdom of human reason, but the blinding effects of human unbelief. In this unbelieving age, with its multitude of scholarly, subtle, hair-splitting metaphysicians and scientific students, who abuse their splendid gifts and great attainments by devoting them to a professedly rational but really Quixotic attempt to overthrow "the faith once delivered to the saints," this vigorously written philosophical polemic deserves hearty welcome and extensive circulation.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, Author of *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy, Superstition and Force, Studies in Church History.* In three volumes, 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers.

That the Inquisition is a conspicuous blot on the papal scutcheon scarcely needs to be said. The cruel pitilessness of the spirit which it embodied excites the abhorrence of every humane mind, and the best defense that can be pleaded in its behalf is that it was more the creation of the spirit of its age than of the papal Church. But this plea, instead of cleansing the scutcheon, only deepens the blackness that blots it, inasmuch as the spirit of the age which made the Inquisition possible was very largely what the Roman Church had made it. As Mr. Lea demonstrates in the first volume of this great work, that Church toward the close of the twelfth century was "the mistress of Christendom," over "the soul and conscience" of which her "empire was complete. . . . There was little that could not be dared or done by the commander of such a force, whose orders were listened to as the oracles of God from Portugal to Palestine, and from Sicily to Ireland. . . . Innocent III. declared that the priestly was as superior to the secular as the soul of man is to his body." And the doctors of the Church claimed for the pope "that he was supreme over all the earth."

Had this absolute spiritual despotism been wielded with a high moral and religious purpose, despite its inconsistency with the spirit of the Gospel, it might have raised the rude peoples of that half-civilized age up to a higher plane of thought and action. But, as Mr. Lea proves by the testimony of Catholic authorities, it was used so selfishly, and for such depraved ends, that it drove "whole nations to despair." The popes were oppressors; the curia, the source of vileness which rendered the priesthood a hissing and a reproach to Christianity; the bishops were generally guilty of rapine, violence, and flagrant crimes; the clergy, for the most part, were a curse to the people under their spiritual direction. Here and there, it is true, a really devout priest was found protesting against these corruptions. Yet in 1260 Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, gave to Innocent IV. such a description of the crimes prevalent among the clergy as proved the papal Church to be "an unmitigated curse, politically, socially, and morally."

After this painfully realistic picture of the Church, Mr. Lea proceeds to show how her depravity begot doubt in the people respecting her doctrines. Those doubts were stimulated by the writings of Abelard and other scholars. Men began to ask questions, to think, to deny established creeds, to invent new religious theories. Thus heresy was born and schism promoted. Hence arose the anti-sacerdotal Cathari, a sect which multiplied so rapidly that the pope felt compelled to call the sovereigns of Europe to join in a crusade against it. Europe was then crimsoned with blood shed in a long religious war, in which the battle of "toleration against persecution" was fought and lost. The Inquisition was a result of this crusade.

The Inquisition was not the product of any one pope, nor of Dominic and his order, as is generally supposed. Rather, it was slowly evolved from an idea. "The sin of heresy," said Thomas Aquinas, "separates man from God more than all other sins, and therefore is the worst of sins;" and Bishop Lucas of Tuy said, "Whatever is worst in other sins becomes holy in comparison with the turpitude of heresy." This idea was the root of the inhuman persecutions which culminated in the unspeakable horrors of the institution historically known as the Inquisition. To extirpate heresy by punishing the heretic as guilty of the worst of crimes was proclaimed as a Christian duty which the papal Church enjoined—first on kings and magistrates. Then bishops were required to search out heretics and place them in the hands of the secular authorities for capital punishment. Next, such mendicant orders as the Franciscans and Dominicans were moved to stimulate the bishops to do their part in this inhuman work. To these succeeded inquisitors appointed by the pope, who gradually acquired a power before which even princes and bishops trembled: and finally the inquisitors were organized into tribunals with power to execute punishment on whomsoever they adjudged guilty of this so-called "worst of sins." The processes of this evolution from an idea into that concrete horror, the Inquisition, are described with painstaking minuteness in Mr. Lea's first volume, as are also the arbitrary proceedings by which alleged heretics were accused, tried, tortured, and burned.

In his second volume Mr. Lea describes the rise, progress, and decline of the institution in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, etc. The causes which retarded or promoted its growth and which made it more effective in one State than in another, with the gradual prevalence of ideas that finally undermined and destroyed it, are elaborately stated and ingenuously discussed. In doing this our author epitomizes the religious history of the age, bringing into view the persistent faith of the Waldenses; the pantheism of the "Brethren of the Free Spirit;" the mysticism of "Friends of God," represented in the disciples of Eckart and Tauler; the Hussite movement, which aimed at the reformation of the Roman Church; and other organizations which, being hostile to the errors and corruptions of the papacy, became objects of its persecuting wrath.

The merits of this history are such as entitle its author to rank as an

historian with Bancroft, Motley, and Prescott. He may not have the reflective tone of Bancroft, the romantic ardor of Prescott, nor Motley's power of graphic delineation; nevertheless he is no mere recorder of bald facts, but the historian of events skillfully strung upon the ideas and principles from which they originated, by which they were nourished, and which also contained their limitations. Thus he gives his readers the philosophy of his historic statements, the spirit as well as the acts of the age. He is not a painter of scenes and portraits. Yet his scenes are clearly outlined, his characters tersely and effectively drawn, and by no means deficient in the living strength which commands the unflagging interest of readers. He is notably unimpassioned; therefore his style, though eminently clear and strong, is not rhetorical, but the expression of his *intellectual* concepts, rather than of facts transformed into pictures by his imagination. One may justly say of him, as Professor Shaw said of Bancroft, that "unwearied and patient in research, discriminating in the choice of authorities, and judicious in estimating testimony, he has the art, the intelligence, and the tact to fuse into a vital unity the narrative so carefully gleaned."

Christianity in the United States, From the First Settlement Down to the Present Time. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 795. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $4 50.

Dr. Dorchester has a genius for facts and statistics. He gathers them with untiring industry, arranges them with excellent judgment, and makes them eminently instructive by his logical and lucid generalizations. Being thus gifted he has produced a volume so rich in facts which represent the past history and present status of the Christianity of our country that it commends itself to every intelligent Christian, and especially to writers and clergymen, as one of the requisites of a good library—a book for reference and for reading which one would not willingly do without. In its plan it is comprehensive, beginning with "The Colonial Era," and proceeding to "The National Era," from 1776 to the present time. In describing the former, our author treats of the earliest efforts of both Protestant and Roman Catholic settlers and communities, of their action in Church and State, of their religious life, customs, and missions. The "morals" of the era are also faithfully portrayed, as is also the provision made by Protestantism for both common school and collegiate education.

With similar fullness of treatment Dr. Dorchester discusses the growth of the Churches and of religious ideas in the period immediately following the Revolution. The inauguration of "The Revival Era," in the dawn of the present century, with its effect on the religious thought, the life, and the morals of the nation, is fully and ably narrated. Nor does he fail to emphasize the story of the great missionary organizations and the ethical reforms which were the outgrowths of the life so deeply intensified by the revival spirit. In his record of the events which marked the period between 1850 and 1887 he takes especial note of the comparative growth of Romanism and Protestantism. Concerning Mormonism, social-

ism, scientific skepticism, and kindred antichristian errors he writes with sufficient fullness. The statistical part of his book is of uncommon value, and is evidently the fruit of a patient, painstaking industry of which few writers can boast. Viewed as a history of the religious progress of the United States it assuredly has no rival, and must be hailed as the worthy successor to Dr. Baird's now obsolete *Religion in America*. As to the accuracy of its figures and statements, the spirit of candor and fairness which animates its pages is a guarantee that its author aims to make them as near the exact truth as the authorities within his reach permitted. To affirm the absolute correctness of all its details would be claiming a degree of perfection unattainable by any human historian. Of its essential accuracy, however, we need not doubt.

The style of this volume is clear, plain, and vigorous. It is characterized by a spirit of judicial calmness which begets the reader's confidence, causing him to feel that the purpose of the author is to state facts, not as a partisan, but impartially and fairly. As a contribution to the religious history of our country it is entitled to a high rank. This, with its literary merit, should and probably will command for it a wide circulation, not in our own Church alone, but also in other denominations and among the reading community generally.

My Autobiography and Reminiscences. By W. P. FRITH, R.A., Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, etc., etc. 12mo, pp. 508. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Frith's superior skill as an artist, especially as a painter of modern life subjects, brought him into friendly acquaintanceship with many of the most distinguished men and women of the present century. So high was his reputation as an artist that the queen of England selected him to paint "The Marriage of the Prince of Wales." This difficult task he executed with such ability that it was highly satisfactory, not to her majesty alone, but also to most of the numerous personages represented on his canvas, and to art critics generally. Many other products of his pencil were widely popular. In this volume he relates the story of his early life, and of his struggles with the hinderances which for a time put his mettle to severe tests. He writes with a *naïveté* which gives quite a charm to his book. His numerous anecdotes, which are largely original, quite piquant, and occasionally humorous, serve to illustrate the characters of celebrated artists, actors, statesmen, merchants, bishops, princes, princesses, and especially of Queen Victoria.

It is written in a style that is plain, vigorous, and unaffected. It will undoubtedly find favor with all whose tastes enable them to appreciate and enjoy a good and sensible book.

The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEX. WILLIAM KINGLAKE. Vol. V, From the Morrow of Inkermann to the Fall of Canrobert. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The readers of Mr. Kinglake's previous volumes have impatiently waited the appearance of this one, so long delayed. But his delay is their benefit, inasmuch as by it he was enabled to gain access to documents, both

French and Russian, not earlier accessible. Hence we have in this volume very minute details of the siege of Sebastopol, which illustrate both the genius of Todleben, the Russian commander, and the heroic persistence of the allies. Next we have the repulse of the Russian attempt to drive the allies out of Eupatoria, and then the vexatious delay of the siege owing to the secret scheme of Napoleon III. to change the plan of attack by means of an additional force which he intended to land at Constantinople, and to lead in person. By concealing this scheme from Lord Raglan and from his own besieging army, he acted dishonorably, and exposed the allied forces to needless perils and possible discomfiture. His ill-conceived scheme failed, and General Canrobert resigned his command. Pelissier succeeded him, and the siege proceeded to its successful termination.

What I Remember. By THOMAS ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE, Author of *Lindisfarn Chase*, etc. 12mo, pp. 546. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is an autobiography, albeit its author declines to call it such, and has given it a very modest, unpretentious title. Commencing with his early days, spent in London, Mr. Trollope proceeds to sketch his school life at Winchester; his college experiences at Oxford; his long residences in France, Austria, and Italy; his experiences as author, newspaper correspondent, and magazine contributor; and his personal intercourse with the many distinguished persons whom he met. The book bristles with racy anecdotes. It contains exceedingly interesting and spicy remembrances of such celebrities as Mrs. Browning, George Eliot, Dickens, Landor, Metternich, etc. Its style, though quite gossipy, is vigorous, lively, and graphic. It is, in truth, a very entertaining volume.

The Life and Words of the Rev. John Knox Shaw. Discourses on Religious Subjects, and a Brief Biography. Printed for Private Distribution. 8vo, pp. 392. Baltimore, Md.: D. H. Carroll.

This attractive volume is a beautiful tribute of filial affection. The sons of Mr. Shaw, once an eloquent, devout, and honored Methodist preacher in the New Jersey and Newark Conferences, desiring "to honor the memory of a good father," have published this book, containing annals of his life and eighteen of his sermons, for distribution among their family and friends. The annals bring out the purity and strength of Mr. Shaw's exceptionally fine character, and the story of his successful labors. The sermons show him to have been a thoughtful, clear-minded, gentle-spirited, faithful, and winning preacher of the Gospel. This volume honors his memory more effectually than a monument of costliest marble.

Grace Magnified. Incidents in the Life, Ministry, Experiences, and Travels of William Garritson Browning, of the New York Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 451. New York: Palmer & Hughes.

This is the autobiography of an earnest, devout, progressive, and successful minister of the Lord Jesus. It abounds in incident, is animated by a manly, independent, ethical and Christian spirit, and is fitted to stimulate the zeal of all who have to work for God and humanity.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Principles of Church Government. With Special Application to the Polity of Episcopal Methodism, and a Plan for the Reorganization of the General Conference into Two Distinct, Separate, and Concurrent Houses. By the late WILLIAM H. PERRINE, D.D. Arranged and edited, with a Life Story and a Review of the Lay Delegation Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, by JAMES M. POTTS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 313. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

Dr. Perrine gave much and close thought to the question of how to reach the best possible results from the right of laymen to membership in our General Conference. To his mind it was clear that a concurrent house of lay delegates is not merely desirable, but a necessary condition to the attainment of such results. In this volume the grounds of his opinion are very fully and ably set forth. The question is one on which "much may be said on both sides;" and, since it is likely to be considered by the coming General Conference, the members elect of that body will do well to study Dr. Perrine's arguments. These may not be convincing to all, because their ground is the very general conviction of statesmen, that in civil governments two legislative bodies are necessary to the liberty and highest good of the people. But this fact loses much of its force with those who perceive only a very incomplete analogy between the legislation required by a State and that needed by a Church organized on the voluntary principle, as ours is. Similarly, others will note that the difference between the hierarchical spirit of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the lack of priestly assumption in our own Church weakens the force of Dr. Perrine's plea for separate houses based on the polity of the former. Our ministers and laymen, it will be said, are brethren who recognize the New Testament as the supreme law of the Church, and our Church legislation, therefore, is mostly on questions of administration which may be fitly arranged without the expensive formality of separate concurrent houses. Many, consequently, will be content with one house, with its power to vote separately, as the present plan provides. All parties, however, will do well to consult this ably written volume, which, if it do not win them to unite on its theory of two separate and concurrent houses, may dispose them to think favorably of so widening the electoral basis that the whole Church may be enabled to vote for lay delegates to the General Conference.

Mr. Absalom Billingslea and Other Georgia Folk. By RICHARD M. JOHNSTON. Author of *Old Mark Langston*, etc. With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 414. New York: Harper & Brothers.

These sketches of queer characters speaking in the peculiar dialect of the South, and illustrative of the habits and manners of the agricultural class in Georgia during the times which preceded the Rebellion, are very amusing. They appear to have been drawn from life, and may therefore be regarded as pictures of a state of society such as cannot be found in a community of free men uninfluenced by the habits begotten by the ownership of slaves.

Women and Men. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. 16mo, pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Higginson is a pleasing essayist. He touches his themes lightly, yet not without shedding upon them the light of common sense. His topics, sixty in number, relate mainly to the capacities, the duties, the opportunities, the influence, and the place of women in society. In his treatment of them he is lively, spicy, instructive, and entertaining.

Life and Labor; or, Characteristics of Men of Industry, Culture, and Genius. By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Harper & Brothers. $1.
Character. By SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D. 4to, paper. New York: Harper & Brothers. 20 cents.

Dr. Smiles always writes attractive, instructive, valuable books. These volumes, like his *Self-Help*, *Duty*, etc., are so well suited to the needs of young people as to merit the widest circulation possible.

Royalized. By REESE ROCKWELL. 12mo, pp. 431. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 50.

This is a deeply interesting temperance story, in which the situations are at times powerfully drawn, the various personages strongly characterized, and both noble and ignoble conduct vividly illustrated. Its chief defect is, that its dialogues are not always in keeping with the ages and environments of the speakers. Nevertheless, it is so attractive as a whole that few will begin to read it without being lured on to its final page.

Golden Opportunities in Every-Day Life. By Mrs. C. H. METCALF. 12mo, pp. 258. 90 cents.
Sailor-Boy Bob. By Rev. EDWARD A. RAND. 12mo, pp. 367. $1 25.
Thoughts of My Dumb Neighbors. By MARY E. BAMFORD. 12mo, pp. 132. 70 cts
Lost on An Island. By Mrs. VIRGINIA C. PHŒBUS. 12mo, pp. 216. 80 cents.

These books are all well written, and adapted to the needs of youthful readers. Their moral tone is good. They combine instruction with pleasing narrative, and are excellent additions to the list of volumes from which purchasers for Sunday-school libraries may judiciously select. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The Art Journal for March. Quarto. London: J. S. Virtue & Co. New York: International News Company.

This number of the *Art Journal* contains a *critique* on the paintings of J. S. Sargent; "Notes on Japan and its Art Wares;" "Grey's Inn;" "Landscape in America;" "A Royal Museum;" "The Saône;" "A Summer Voyage;" and "A Memorial Catalogue." All elegantly and profusely illustrated.

The Colonel's Money. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of *Joe's Opportunity*, etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 393. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a delightful story for young people, describing the experiences of an American girl among her English relations when, as the heir to her uncle's estate, she was placed under their care as required by the provisions of the testator's will. It is well written, and its moral tone is excellent.

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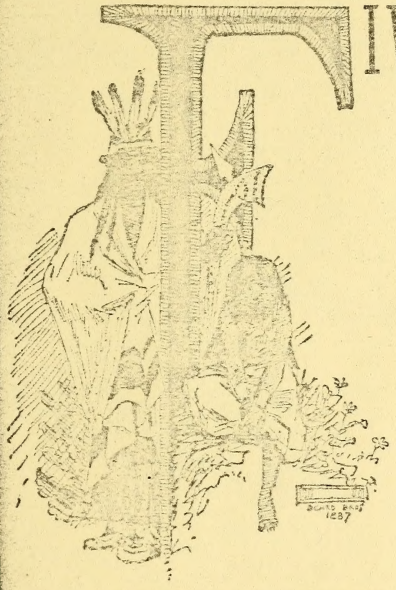

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